SULZER'S SHORT SPEECHES

HON. WM. SULZER

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/sulzersshortspee0000geor

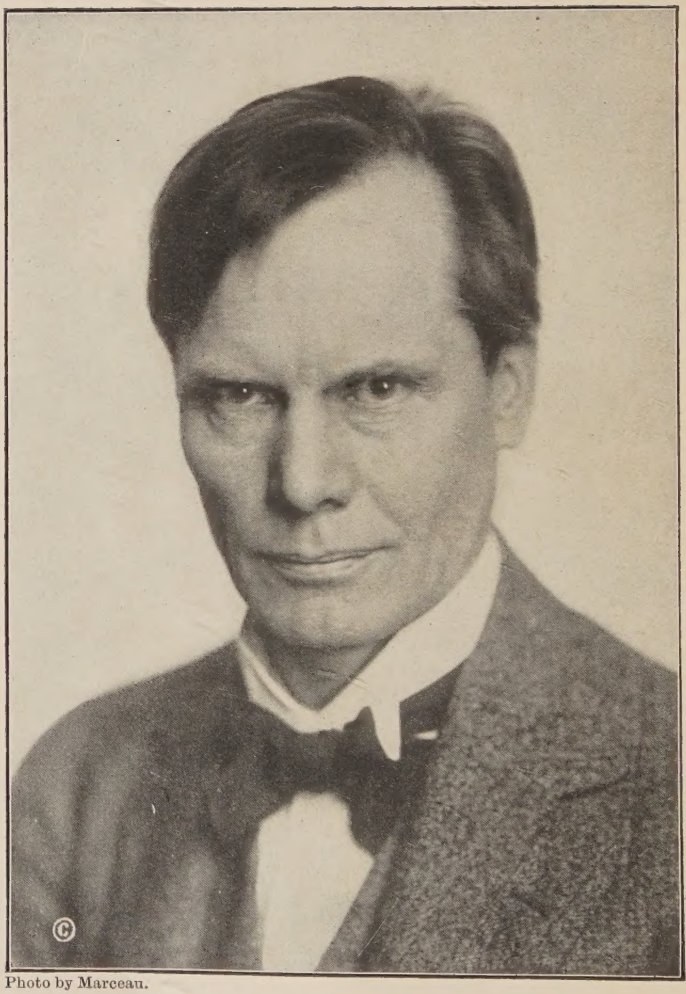


Photo by Marceau.

Very truly yours
Wm Sulzer

SULZER'S SHORT SPEECHES.

CAREFULLY COMPILED FROM THE RECORDS OF CONGRESS, WITH OTHER OFFICIAL DATA AND A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY

GEORGE W. BLAKE,

Of the N. Y. Times.

COPYRIGHT 1912, BY
J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY.

NEW YORK:
J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,
57 Rose Street.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Biographical Sketch	7
Record in N. Y. State Assembly	19
Congressional Record	22
Liberty Enlightening the World	37
Yellowstone Park	40
Justice to the Negro Soldier	42
Tribute to the Jews	44
The Chinese Republic	47
The Soldiers' Friend	49
Tribute to Daniel E. Sickles	50
Pulaski Monument	54
Steuben Monument	56
The Earthquake in Italy	62
Letter Carriers	64
Columbus Day	65
Raising of the Maine	66
Cuba	73
The Election of Senators	76
Ship Subsidies	82
Merchant Marine	85
The Republic	94
Volunteer Soldiers	95
Real Economy	96
Income Tax	100
Tribute to Boers	109
Railroad Rate Bill and Interstate Carriers	110
Life-Savers	117
Transportation	118
Tuberculosis Congress	124
San Francisco Panama Exposition	125
Good Roads	128
Eulogy on Richard P. Bland	131
Tribute to Labor	136
Ownership of Embassies	139
Andrew Jackson	141
White Slave Trade	145
Tribute to Democracy	146
No Invasion of Mexico	149

CONTENTS

	PAGE
School Teachers	153
Pan-American Trade	155
On the Tariff	158
Bishop Alexander Walters	159
Cuba's Independence	161
"Old Ironsides"	164
Charleston Exposition	169
War Taxes	170
Mrs. Russell Sage	173
Annexation of Hawaii	174
Raising the Maine	178
The American Navy	180
Government Employees	182
Statehood, Arizona, New Mexico	183
Russian Passport	184
Russian Treaty	193
Merit System	207
Conservation	208
Eulogy on Senator John T. Morgan	214
Publicity of Campaign Contributions	218
Wm. R. Smith	223
Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition	227
Income Tax	230
Purchase of Consular Buildings	233
Apportionment of Representatives	235
Libraries	238
Life-Savers	240
Abraham Lincoln	243
The Slocum Disaster	246
Niagara Falls	249
Letter Carriers	251
Copyright Law	253
Bureau of Corporations	255
Eight-Hour Law	256
Samuel J. Tilden	257
Letter from Hon. John Bigelow	261
Taxes on Necessities	263
Parcels Post	265
Diplomatic and Consular Appropriations	270
Eulogy on Senator Elkins	273
Alaska	277
On Immigration	290
Articles from National Magazine	293

Sulzer's Short Speeches

SHORT SKETCH OF WILLIAM SULZER.

By George W. Blake, of the N. Y. Times.

There are two distinct types of men in public life to-day, one that is constantly in the limelight because of "grandstand plays" and their ability to sound their own trumpets, or getting their friends to do it for them; the other those that "do things," but who are too modest to speak about them, being content to let the records they make speak for themselves. To this latter class belongs William Sulzer, the able, honest, eloquent and progressive Democratic representative of the City of New York.

Emerson has truly said that every commanding monument in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm, and Mr. Sulzer has triumphed over every obstacle by reason of his intense enthusiasm in the cause, and his determination to do the right thing, no matter what the consequences may be. He puts industry, determination, and genuine enthusiasm in all his work, and he is a worker.

Mr. Sulzer is to-day the ranking Democratic Congressman in party service in the United States north of Mason and Dixon's line. His district in the City of New York is practically a Republican one, no Democrat having carried it since 1892 except Mr. Sulzer, and he has carried it by increased majorities in every Congressional campaign since 1894. The record of his increasing majorities under adverse circumstances tells the story.

It is well known that New Yorkers are hard to please

so far as Congressmen are concerned, and they seldom keep a member in Congress more than two or three terms, but Mr. Sulzer is now in his ninth term and is more loved and respected by his constituents than ever before, and there is no doubt he can succeed himself as a member of Congress just as long as he likes. He has represented his district at Albany and at Washington for nearly twenty-three years without a break, and certainly no man has been more active and useful to his constituents, his State, and the country at large in accomplishing things for civic righteousness, for the public weal, and for the good of humanity.

Mr. Sulzer resorts to no political arts or personal pretenses. He is just a plain, common, every-day plodding, good-natured citizen, sincere, square, and loyal in every fiber of his manhood. He does not command support by subtle influences, trickery, hypocrisy, self-advertising and the command of wealth, like some others, but succeeds solely through his brains, his intrepidity and his fidelity to friends and to principles. He never had a press agent. He never financed a publicity bureau. He never paid for puffs. He does his work day in and day out, year after year, quietly, modestly, confident the results will ultimately speak for themselves, and conscious of the fact that the knowledge of duty well done, for duty's sake, and in the cause of freedom and righteousness and humanity, is after all the best reward and the most lasting recompense a public servant can have.

Mr. Sulzer has always been a very modest man concerning his own achievements, but we will not be so modest in telling what most of the world knows about him. And yet the more the people know about Sulzer the better they like him. As the record of his achievements is unfolded the greater and the grander stands out the man—the plain man of the plain people—and they know him and they love him—this man who does things for the people for the sake of doing them, and goes his way day after day happy in the consciousness that there is work to do, and that he is doing his share in his day and generation to make the world better and happier as the Master intended.

The more you know about Sulzer—the more you see of him—the more you study him at close range—the more you like him and the more you will appreciate what he has done, and glory in his trials and triumphs. He needs no eulogy. His career of struggle for higher and better things is an epic poem.

William Sulzer was born in an old historic house on Liberty Street, Elizabeth, N. J., on the 18th day of March, 1863. He was the second son of a family of seven children. His mother, Lydia, came of good old Scotch-Irish and Dutch ancestry. His father, Thomas Sulzer, was a native of Germany. While a student at Heidelberg in 1848, he joined the patriotic forces, engaged in the struggle for constitutional government, was captured and imprisoned, making his escape finally to Switzerland, and then emigrated to New York in 1851, where he soon after married. Thomas Sulzer subsequently became a farmer near Elizabeth, N. J., and was assisted in the farm work by his son William until the boy was fourteen years old. From this ancestry it can readily be seen why William Sulzer loves liberty and freedom and constitutional government, and how naturally he comes by his temperament and splendid fighting qualities—and there never was a braver fighter in a just cause than William, the second son of Thomas and Lydia Sulzer.

William Sulzer attended the country district school. He was graduated from the grammar school in 1877. He then attended lectures at Columbia College Law School and studied in the law office of Parrish & Pendleton in New York City. His parents were strict Presbyterians and intended William for the ministry, but he longed for the law and the battles in the forum for justice, and the law claimed him for its own. He was admitted to the bar on reaching his majority in 1884 at a General Term of the Supreme Court in the City of New York, and immediately opened an office and began the active practice of the law in New York City. He early achieved success as a lawyer, and soon became recognized as an eloquent public speaker. He rendered effective service to the Democratic National Committee as a campaign orator

for Cleveland in the memorable struggle of 1884, and in every local and State and national contest since.

He was elected to the New York Assembly in 1889, and was re-elected in each successive year for five terms; serving as Speaker of the Assembly in 1893, and as leader of the Democratic minority in 1894. He made a brilliant record during his term in the New York Assembly for honesty, ability and industry. The newspapers, regardless of politics, commended his work. He was a judicial and impartial presiding officer, and one of the youngest Speakers in the history of the State. His sincerity and his integrity were never questioned. As Speaker he gave the people the lowest tax rate and the most economical tax budget in forty-seven years, and the cleanest and shortest session of the Legislature in fifty-one years. He made good, and justified the confidence reposed in him by his party. He wrote on the statute books the reform laws and many beneficial acts for the general welfare. He did much for the State, won the affection of the people, commanded the respect of all, and laid the foundation broad and deep for his greater career in the national arena where mental giants are the contestants.

When William Sulzer left Albany after five years of earnest effort and successful accomplishment—a splendid record without parallel in the history of the State—he bid his friends and admirers good-bye and said there was not money enough in the State to ever get him to cross the portals of the Capitol to lobby for or against a bill. He has kept that promise. Do you know of the fees he refused? Do you know of the temptations he has resisted? This fact speaks volumes for his integrity and his manhood. Sulzer never loved money. He is as poor to-day as he was then.

In 1894 he was elected from the old Tenth District of New York a representative to the Fifty-fourth Congress, and was re-elected by an increased majority at each successive election. His present term will expire in March, 1913. His service in Congress has been conspicuous for his championship of popular rights, constitutional government, and especially his defense of the cause of the people. He pleaded the cause of the Cuban insurgents

before the House in several eloquent speeches. In the Fifty-fifth Congress he introduced the measure to secure the Department of Commerce with a secretary having a seat in the Cabinet. He is the author of the bill creating a Department of Labor, and this bill, as introduced by him, made the first scientific classification of labor ever attempted in this country. He introduced the first resolutions sympathizing with the Cubans, the first granting to them belligerent rights, the first favoring the independence of the Cubans, and the first declaring war against Spain. He also championed the rights of the Boers in Congress by introducing a number of resolutions of sympathy for their cause, and denouncing in several eloquent speeches the conduct of the war by the British. He is the author of the resolutions providing for an amendment of the Constitution of the United States so that the United States Senators shall be elected by the people; of the measure to raise the Maine; the bill to make Columbus Day a legal holiday; the bill for a statute to Tilden; the new copyright law; the Army reorganization law; the bill to create a Department of Transportation; the bill to restore the merchant marine; the old soldiers' bill and many other commendable measures. He is the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, one of the great and most important committees in Congress. He is a forceful debater and one of the prominent leaders on the floor of the House. It is claimed for him that he fought more battles before the House for justice, for equal rights to all and for the plain people, in the face of strong opposition, than any other representative in Congress. In national politics he was sent as a delegate from New York to the Democratic national conventions of 1896, 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1912; and was one of the active supporters of W. J. Bryan before the people in every campaign of the latter for President.

There is not a man to-day in Congress who has fought so many battles for the people and good government in the face of strong opposition and who has so many victories to his credit as Mr. Sulzer. His success is due entirely to his great industry, his application, his geniality, his approachableness, his sincerity of purpose, sturdy

character and conscientiousness in everything he does and undertakes. These qualities are well known and recognized by his colleagues and constituents alike. He belongs to the new school of politics, to the progressive, wide-awake, successful class of Americans in public life who do things and do them well. He represents the highest type of true American manhood. His name is known from one end of the country to the other, and he is as much loved and respected by the people in the South as in the North, on the Pacific as on the Atlantic.

He has had a varied and most interesting career in political life, and his experiences have tended to give him that wide sympathy with human nature, that tolerant outlook on life and the springs that move men, that lend to his speeches their intensely human quality.

For several years Mr. Sulzer's friends throughout the State have urged his name as a candidate for Governor of New York. To-day he is one of the strongest men politically in this country, and his friends, believing he can make a much better showing this year than he could ever have made before are urging his candidacy, and they predict that he will win if nominated beyond a doubt.

To win the election in the coming campaign the Democrats need a candidate who can carry with him the Democratic vote, and at the same time attract the support of independent citizens who are not strict party men. It is believed that this is exactly what Wm. Sulzer can do.

It is known that Mr. Sulzer is not personally desirous of being a candidate, but we believe that if nominated he would lead his party to victory at the polls. Therefore, not to gratify his wishes, but to promote the welfare of the Democratic party and the good of the people we conceive it to be a duty to urge his nomination upon the consideration of fellow-Democrats.

By a life of high public service and stainless private conduct Wm. Sulzer has demonstrated that he has great abilities, pure patriotism, wide sympathies and sound judgment. For eighteen years he has been one of the leaders of the House of Representatives at Washington. He is thoroughly familiar with our government, a

profound and sympathetic student of existing social and industrial conditions, and a great expounder and defender of our Constitution. He is a sincere Democrat, grounded in the historical doctrines of our party, conservative to preserve the old landmarks of good government, and progressive to apply these tested principles to new conditions which arise from time to time. No man would fear that Wm. Sulzer in any position would rashly attempt to tear down anything which is good in our political life or to build up anything which is injurious. His long and consistent record in public life proves the truth of this assertion. He is constructive—not destructive. He is no demagogue—no hypocrite—no foe to anything except intrenched wrongs and special privilege which are essentially un-Democratic and un-American.

Mr. Sulzer has sometimes been charged with being a partisan, but however much one may differ now and then from his political views, it is impossible not to admire the splendid lucidity and vigor with which they are set forth. In an age of lax and extravagant expression he uses the written word with unerring precision and unfailing dignity. Whenever he has espoused a cause it has been from conviction, and not from caprice or partisanship.

It would take a good-sized book to enumerate all that Mr. Sulzer has done and accomplished for the people during the time he has been in public life, and yet he is only in the prime of manhood. He is honest and truthful and loyal in all things—a Democrat through and through—and it is these qualities that make him to-day one of the most influential and popular members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Sulzer is an orator up-to-date. He does not indulge in sophistry, or in refined and involved sentences that are hard to understand. There is snap to his speeches. They are generally short, epigrammatic and eloquent. They ring true. They say what they mean and mean what they say.

Mr. Sulzer is not a blatant reformer; he wears no placard on his breast; but he stands for honesty in politics—for the eternal principles of truth and right and

justice in public affairs. He believes in fair play and equal opportunity for all. He is broad and liberal in his views; has charity for all; trusts the people, and has never lost faith in humanity. He is an eminent lawyer, a philosophical statesman, a great civic reformer, and an ideal citizen of the purest patriotism. He is the foe of every public evil, and in his lifetime he has done more to correct governmental abuses and secure substantial results than any man since the days of Tilden. He knows himself; he believes in the destiny of the republic, and he has made the corner-stone of his political convictions that cardinal principle—equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

He is an indefatigable worker and accomplishes what he undertakes. He believes in plod and progress. He is the architect of his own career. Unaided he has surmounted every obstacle. Alone he has risen step by step over every difficulty. He has eloquence, patience and confidence, energy and industry—and above all he has character. He has tenacity of purpose and always bides his time. He never relies on luck or trusts to chance. He meets Napoleon's test—he does things. He is the implacable foe of private monopoly, of unjust taxation, of organized greed, of discriminating legislation that robs the many for the benefit of the few, and of every special privilege. He is a faithul public official, and, like Cleveland, preaches the doctrine that public office is a public trust. He is a reformer who reforms. He does not talk about a policy one day and abandon it the next. What he promises to do he does. He never indulges in theatricals; he is not a spectacular statesman. He stands for civic purification; he foresees the coming storm of the indignation of an outraged people, and the great work he has at heart he knows will not culminate until civic righteousness is enthroned in every capital of America.

Mr. Sulzer is a believer in the policies of Tilden, the great American reformer. The enthusiasm for civic righteousness which Tilden's memory inspires is his guiding star.

Mr. Sulzer believes that in every sane attempt to improve the administration of governmental affairs, in every

intelligent effort to better the conditions of public life, in every forward movement designed to rid legislation and the enforcement of laws of favoritism, fraud, and trickery, the spirit of Tilden finds expression. The work that Tilden did, the methods that his extraordinary intelligence devised and approved, constitute to-day, in the opinion of Mr. Sulzer, the foundation and plans for reforms continuously in progress but as yet unfinished.

No one owns Congressman Sulzer. He is no man's man. He wears nobody's collar. He is free and independent. He thinks for himself, acts for himself and speaks for himself. He takes wise advice, makes up his mind what is right, and then goes ahead regardless of personal consequences. No one would ever try to intimidate him. He knows no fear. He is often cautious because he believes it is better to be slow than sorry. The people have not forgotten how he defied "orders" and voted against "Cannonism." That was the test of his independence that showed the metal of which he is made, and "Cannonism" is still an issue.

Mr. Sulzer is a man of sentiment—of the broadest sympathies—of an attractive personality, a cultured, scholarly gentleman, with a sunshiny, genial disposition. He has a remarkable memory and seldom forgets a face or a name. He is true to his friends. He seldom makes a promise but never breaks a promise. He has few prejudices, and they are all against the intrenched wrongs of the time. He has no conceit and very little vanity. He hates cant and cares naught for race or creed. A man is a man to Sulzer. He is married and lives with his family in the heart of his Congressional district, the idol of the people.

To the everlasting credit of Mr. Sulzer be it said that during his long public career he has never worn a corporation collar, never received orders from any political boss, never compromised a principle, never deviated an inch from the path of duty, and never supported a measure calculated to promote any predatory interest at the expense of the people. No broken covenants, no violated pledges, no unfulfilled promises dishonor or discredit his public service. No one can point to a single act of Mr.

Sulzer's during his long public career and successfully accuse him of either insincerity or incapacity. In the consideration of any legislative proposition the first question he solves is this: "Is it right?" He weighs all political and industrial measures in the scale of natural justice and accepts unhesitatingly its arbitrament. In his opinion injustice never pays; that there is a Nemesis that follows in its wake that never falters nor sleeps. To him only that is enduring which is right, and expedient that which is just; that the moral perception is a safer pilot than the intellectual perception, because the truth which the intellect discovers by patient research the moral sense reaches by intuition.

Mr. Sulzer's sterling integrity, his keen discernment of what is just and right and his implacable hatred of corruption in all its forms combine to make him a staunch defender and an able advocate of the people's rights and interests. His strong, resonant, eloquent voice in every struggle of the people is heard like the tones of a trumpet beating full on the ear, eradicating doubt, inspiring confidence and animating the soul with the hope of ultimate victory. His researches are not for dress parade or gaudy exhibition, but for practical public use and benefit; it is not the romance, but the stern reality of literature which interests him. His mind is eminently practical and stored, not with fiction, but with indisputable facts and eternal truths. His style is vigorous, virile, ardent and characterized by a logical arrangement of facts, exact reasoning, lucid exposition which indicate the production of one who has mastered his subject—it is the eloquence of truth delivered by one who both feels and appreciates it.

To him law is an exact science and when human law does not conform to the natural law of justice, he regards it as a species of legal violence. Those fundamental principles which have their abode in the brave and honest heart, the clear mental vision which looks through the mists of sophistry; the irresistible energy of mind which sweeps aside the artificial impediments that obstruct the path to the realization of industrial justice; the keen mental discernment that penetrates dark places where fraud and corruption might lurk; the unswerving devo-

tion to public duty, fidelity to lofty ideals and the courage that braves all dangers, meets all opposition in the cause of good government, pure politics, civic righteousness and industrial justice—all these he has; and they combine to make him not only a great lawyer, but a great lawmaker. His unselfish devotion to the rights and interests of the people have developed in him the highest qualities and noblest impulses.

The physical courage that confronts the enemy in the field of battle amid turmoil, intense excitement and all manner of confusion, is comparatively a cheap virtue, for the weak and timid have shown it in all ages and in every country. But the high moral courage which qualifies a man to take the lead in great struggles for reforms, who ignores all blandishments and arrays himself on the side of the helpless and disorganized masses, is a courage that few men in public life to-day possess. He who unswervingly supports the cause of industrial justice and attacks powerful interests when they trespass on the rights of the common people must be of strong soul and high endeavor if he is to survive the bitter and unrelenting warfare which the advocates of privilege invariably wage against him. This rare and inestimable quality Mr. Sulzer possesses in an eminent degree and in full perfection and it places him in the vanguard of that noble little army of democratic Democrats who are to-day fighting the people's battles against the usurpations of the few against the rights of the many.

Mr. Sulzer is no demagogue to fawn on the masses of men and cajole their prejudices because they are the ultimate repository of political power. He speaks to them as a friend, for he is their friend—their devoted, faithful friend—but he invariably tells them the plain, naked truths, whether pleasant or disagreeable.

His every utterance proves him an able tribune of the wealth producers of the country. Mr. Sulzer has been called ambitious, and in a sense this is true. He is ambitious, to serve his country to the best of his ability and in a capacity where he can render the best and most effective service. He is ambitious to leave to posterity a name hallowed by association with noble work done to

improve the condition and lessen the burden of the oppressed, irrespective of race or creed, and to sleep at last in a grave made sacred by the love and veneration of the people whom he loved so well and served so faithfully.

Mr. Sulzer is of large stature, standing over six feet in height with a weight of one hundred and eighty-five pounds which he carries with the grace of a trained athlete. He is abstemious; has sandy hair and steel blue eyes that look straight into yours, and read your innermost thoughts. During the war with Spain he organized a regiment of volunteers and was elected colonel, but for political reasons it was not called into active service. Two of his younger brothers—a captain and a lieutenant—died in the service of their country.

Mr. Sulzer, without doubt, is the best vote getter today in the State of New York. He has always run thousands of votes ahead of his ticket. He has never been defeated. He is a man of the people and for the people.

He is a 32d degree Mason, has held all the honors in the craft, and years ago became a life member. He is a member of Lloyd Aspinall Post, G. A. R.; the Army and Navy Union; the Eagles; the Pioneers of Alaska; the Arctic Brotherhood; the National-Democratic Club; Manhattan Club; Press Club; Masonic Club; and other clubs in New York City. His church affiliations are with the Presbyterian denomination. His most profitable reading has been history, philosophy and political economy; and his advice to young men is to work hard, cultivate good habits, have a motive in life and a positive determination to succeed.

Mr. Sulzer is a very busy man, but his spare hours are spent in writing a book on "Political Economy," which his friends believe will be a standard text-book on economic principles. His rugged honesty, his loyalty to his friends, his ability as a champion of the poor and oppressed in every land and in every clime have made his name a household word among the people of America, and as an apostle of freedom forever enshrined him in the hearts of humanity.

Mr. Sulzer's Brilliant Record of Accomplishment in the Assembly of the State of New York for 1890, '91, '92, '93 and '94.

The record at Albany proves that William Sulzer:

1. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Women's Reformatory.
2. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Anti-Pinkerton Law.
3. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the State care of the insane—one of the great reformatory measures of recent times, which has been substantially copied by nearly every State in the Union.
4. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law abolishing the sweat shops.
5. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for free lectures for workingmen and working women.
6. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law finally abolishing imprisonment for debt.
7. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Constitutional Convention.
8. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Columbian Celebration in New York city.
9. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Freedom of Worship Law.
10. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Ballot Reform Law.

11. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law known as the Corrupt Practices Act.
12. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to limit the hours of labor.
13. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the codification of the statutes of the State of New York.
14. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the statutes codifying the quarantine laws.
15. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to open Stuyvesant Park to the people.
16. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law to open to the people on Sunday the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
17. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of New York, the law prohibiting net fishing in Jamaica Bay.
18. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the relief of the employees of the Street Cleaning Department.
19. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the Prevailing Rate of Wages.
20. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the State Park and to conserve the Adirondack Forests.
21. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law for the conservation of the natural resources of the State of New York and for the protection of the water sheds of the Hudson River.
22. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law abolishing corporal punishment in the prisons of the State.
23. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law completing the State Capitol.

24. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Constitutional Amendment to enlarge the State Canals.
25. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Weekly Payment Bill.
26. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the Saturday Half-Holiday Law.
27. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of the State of New York, the law establishing the epileptic colony.
28. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of New York, the law for the Aquarium in New York City.
29. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of New York, the law for Bronx and Van Cortlandt Parks.
30. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of New York, the Tilden Library Law.
31. Was the author of, and wrote on the statute books of New York, the law to compel the New York Central Railroad Company to light and ventilate the Fourth Avenue tunnel, and many other progressive reform measures of far-reaching importance to all the people of the State of New York.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE RECORD OF MR. SULZER'S EIGHTEEN YEARS IN CONGRESS.

The Congressional Record tells the story of Mr. Sulzer's work in Congress for eighteen years.

The Congressional Record proves that Wm. Sulzer

1. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law for the Bureau of Corporations, through the agency of which the anti-trust laws can be enforced.
2. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law increasing the pay of the letter carriers of the country.
3. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the Cuban patriots.
4. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the heroic Boers in their struggle to maintain their independence.
5. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution of sympathy for the oppressed Jews in Russia, and protesting against their murder by the Russian government.
6. Is the author of the resolution to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday.
7. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution to abrogate the treaty with Russia because that government refused to recognize Jewish passports.
8. Is the author of the resolution to make October 12 a legal holiday, to be called "Columbus Day."
9. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, a pension law for the orphans and widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors who saved the Union.
10. Is the author of the resolution to elect United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
11. Is the author of the bill to regulate interstate commerce railroads.
12. Is the author of the bill for the relief of the victims of the "General Slocum" disaster.

13. Is the author of the bill to restore the American Merchant Marine by preferential duties along the lines of the early navigation laws of the country.
14. Is the author of the bill to construct good national roads.
15. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the bill to raise the wreck of the "Maine."
16. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the law to light the Statue of Liberty.
17. Is the author of the Old Soldiers' Bill.
18. Is the author of the bill to create a "Department of Labor," with a Secretary having a seat in the Cabinet.
19. Is the author of the bill to reduce tariff taxes, especially on all goods, wares and merchandise manufactured in this country and sold cheaper abroad than to the people in the United States.
20. Is the author of the bill to place on the free list coal, wood, pulp, lumber and white print paper.
21. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution to amend the Constitution for a graduated income tax law.
22. Is the author of the bill for postal savings banks and a general parcels post.
23. Is the author of the bill for the Department of Transportation.
24. Is the author of the bill for the Volunteer soldiers and sailors who saved the Union.
25. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the new copyright law.
26. Is the author of, and wrote on the statute books, the resolution congratulating the people of China on the establishment of a republic.
27. Is the author of the bill to improve the Foreign Service, and acquire embassies abroad.
28. Is the author of the bill to prevent any ship sailing from the ports of the United States unless equipped with every safeguard and device for saving life; and many other useful measures in the interests of all the people of the country.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM SULZER'S REMARKABLE RECORD.

(*From the "New York Critic," April* 15, 1912.)

Mr. Sulzer has been in public office continuously for nearly a quarter of a century—five years as an Assemblyman and eighteen years as a Congressman. He has never been defeated, although he lives in a district that is normally Republican. Indeed, it is one of the most cosmopolitan Congressional districts in the whole country, and although it contains many nationalities, has been gerrymandered against him, and has an ever-changing population, he has always been elected, even when the tidal wave was Republican.

The secret of his great popularity is found in the fact that he is a man of the people, is absolutely honest, is true to his friends and never breaks his word; and it is not to be wondered at that he simply OWNS a district that no other Democrat can carry. If the country knew him as well it would admire him as devotedly as his own constituents do.

The one remarkable fact in his career is that he never seems to have made a political mistake, and this is accounted for by the fact that he always puts principles before expediency and fidelity to his friends above temporary advantage. The Critic has collated the following from the official records:

First: Mr. Sulzer was elected on an independent ticket to the Assembly in 1889 by the people to protest against the giving away of the Broadway railroad franchise. He won by 800 or 900 plurality.

Second: He was re-elected in 1890, '91, '92 and '93 in succession to the Assembly from the Fourteenth Assembly District by increased majorities. He was the Speaker

in 1893 by the unanimous vote of his Democratic colleagues, notwithstanding the State machine was opposed to him. He was the leader of the majority in 1892 and the leader of the minority in 1894. His record in the State Legislature was always in the interest of good government and the people, and HAS NEVER BEEN ADVERSELY CRITICISED BY THE PRESS.

Third: He ran for Congress in the old Tenth Congressional District in 1894. The district had always been very close. Parts of it were intense Republican strongholds, dominated by such men as John J. O'Brien, Ferdinand Eidman, William J. Murray, John E. Brodsky, Michael Collins and other Republican leaders. In 1894 the Republicans swept the country. The Democrats carried only five Congressional districts north of Mason and Dixon's line, of which three were in the city of New York. Congressmen like General Sickles and Amos J. Cummings were defeated in Democratic strongholds. Hill running for Governor lost Sulzer's Congressional district by over 11,000. Sulzer carried it by over 800 and was the only Democrat elected from that district.

Fourth: Mr. Sulzer stood by his party in the fight of 1896. He was again a candidate and was elected by three times the majority he received two years before. Bryan lost the district by over 17,000. Sulzer again was the only Democrat elected from that Congressional district, and it was a three-cornered fight.

Fifth: In 1898 Sulzer carried the district by over 8,000, notwithstanding there was a concerted movement by Mr. Hanna and other Republican leaders to defeat him, and money was poured into the district to the extent of thousands and thousands of dollars.

Sixth: In 1900 McKinley carried the district by over 11,000. Sulzer carried it by over 5,000. In 1902 Sulzer carried the district by over 9,000. The district went Republican for Governor.

Seventh: Then the district was changed under the new apportionment and made stronger Republican. In 1904 Parker lost the district by over 7,000 and Sulzer carried it by over 4,000.

Eighth: In 1906 Sulzer carried the district by over

11,000, receiving OVER SEVENTY-FIVE PER CENT. OF THE ENTIRE VOTE CAST IN THE DISTRICT.

Ninth: In 1908 Bryan lost the district by over 8,000 and Sulzer carried it by about 5,000.

The returns of the votes show that Mr. Sulzer has represented a Republican district practically ever since he went to Congress, and has always run thousands of votes ahead of his ticket. If he had run for Governor on several of these occasions when he ran for Congress and had polled on an average the same majorities in every district throughout the State, he would have carried the State in 1898, 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908 and in 1910.

Mr. Sulzer has never mixed in local politics. He has never received a receivership or a refereeship or any other consideration. He has kept his skirts clean and has been in State politics when a member of the Legislature and in National politics as a member of Congress. He is a man who thinks for himself and has always done what he believed was right according to his light. When the orders came to vote for "Cannonism," Mr. Sulzer was the only Democrat from the city who voted against "Cannonism."

A man with such a remarkable record in this age of shifty politicians would make a safe and sane executive. As a candidate he is ideal. Progressive and conservatives can support him conscientiously.

SULZER'S RECORD AS A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS.

(*From the New York World, Monday, March* 4, 1912.)

SOME OF THE IMPORTANT THINGS HE HAS DONE FOR THE COUNTRY—HALTS MEXICAN WAR—SHOWS UP THE TRUE SITUATION IN THE PANAMA CANAL DEAL AND BLUFFS RUSSIA.

TELL THE TRUTH, SAY WHAT YOU MEAN AND BE POLITE.

At a recent reception in Washington a diplomat asked Mr. Sulzer if he was in favor of "Dollar diplomacy." "I am in favor of direct diplomacy," promptly replied the New York Congressman. "What do you mean by direct diplomacy?" he was asked.

"Telling the truth," he said. "Say what you mean and mean what you say, and be polite about it."

[*Special to the World.*]

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1912.—Representative William Sulzer of New York knows nothing about politics. Such at least is the firm belief of a majority alike of his friends and his enemies. Still the fact remains that the Democratic Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs is now completing his ninth consecutive term in the House of Representatives, and that for eighteen years he has carried a staunch Republican district in New York City.

All the efforts of Tammany Hall, of the Republican organization, of Wall Street and its allies, have failed to pry him loose from his seat. Twice he has come within an ace of forcing Tammany to accept him as Democratic candidate for Governor, and to-day he is stronger than he ever was.

When asked how he does it, the Honorable Bill thrusts his quid a little further into his cheek, affects an enigmatic smile that would make Wu Ting-fang himself envious and says, "The people understand me, I understand the people, and we trust each other."

Students of history will recall that one Thomas Jefferson and one Abraham Lincoln ascribed their political fortunes much to the same reason. But any one who would have taken up either of those distinguished gentlemen for a fool in politics would have found himself left. So, too, would any one who tried the experiment with Congressman Sulzer. He is one of the only three Congressmen on the Democratic side of the house who received any real political advancement when his party gained control in 1910.

The other two were Champ Clark and Oscar Underwood. Mr. Clark was made Speaker, Mr. Underwood became chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader of the house, and William Sulzer was placed at the head of the important Committee on Foreign Affairs.

THREE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS BY SULZER.

All three have distinguished themselves, but to Chairman Sulzer belongs the credit of three great achievements. He prevented the throwing of American troops into Mexico; he secured the abrogation of the Russian treaty on the Jewish passport question, and he has brought the strong light of publicity to bear upon the rape of the Isthmus, one of the blackest spots on Mr. Roosevelt's record.

All three stories are worth the telling. Last summer when Ambassador Wilson told President Taft that "the whole of Mexico was seething with political discontent and Diaz was seated on a volcano, the eruption of which might endanger the safety of 40,000 Americans, men, women and children, living in Mexico," President Taft concentrated an army along the Rio Grande.

Immediately every conceivable pressure was brought to bear upon the President to induce him to send American troops across the border, ostensibly to protect Ameri-

can interests, but in reality to uphold the tottering régime of Diaz, the dictator. The President would have yielded if the consent of the House had been obtained to this suggestion.

The Senate was ready to accede to the desire of the Morgans, the Guggenheims, the Rothschilds and other financial interests. Some little opposition was expected from the Democratic House, but this every one believed would easily be overcome. They did not know Sulzer then, they have learned to know him since. Sulzer believed then as he does now that the United States should keep out of Mexico and allow the Mexicans to settle their own affairs in their own way. It was certain the House would not consent to an invasion of Mexico, even on pretext of protecting American lives and property, in the face of an adverse opinion of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Pressure, pressure of the most powerful kind, which few men would have been able and fewer still have dared to withstand, was brought to bear upon the plain hard-working chairman. The thousand millions of American investments shrieked their loudest, but Sulzer stood firm. He was summoned to the White House. The messages of Ambassador Wilson, the secret reports of American agents and American army officers were laid before him, the necessity for upholding the Diaz régime and all it meant to the vast financial interests was pointed out, he was argued with, cajoled and threatened, but he told President Taft and the Republican Senators that in his opinion Mexico was a friendly sister republic, that she should be treated as such by the Government of the United States.

PUTS AMERICAN HONOR ABOVE AMERICAN DOLLARS.

Sulzer added that American honor was more sacred than American dollars, and that the policy of this country should be to live up to its treaty obligations, enforce the neutrality laws, and allow the people of Mexico to settle their differences without the intervention of the United States or any other foreign Government.

As President Taft has given assurances to the representatives of all Latin-American republics in Washington that the United States had no ulterior designs on Mexico, Mexican territory or Mexican independence, and that he would not intervene except by and with the advice and consent of Congress, it was impossible in the face of Mr. Sulzer's opposition to do more than patrol the border.

As a result of the non-intervention of the United States, Mexico overthrew Diaz, and Madero, the leader of the revolutionary forces, became President.

Within the last few weeks the situation has again become acute. Madero had failed to fulfil the expectations of the Mexican people, and the weakness of his administration has given rise to armed disturbance throughout Mexico.

Financial interests suffering severely from so long a period of political unrest have again brought every conceivable pressure to bear upon Mr. Taft to send American forces into Mexico to restore order and establish a stable Government that could afford the protection so badly needed.

Only last Saturday a meeting was held at the White House at which were present Secretary of War Stimson and other members of the Cabinet, together with Senators Root, Lodge, Stone, Culberson, Bacon, Bailey and others, and again the decision was reached that if the consent of the House could be obtained American troops should be thrown into Mexico.

Again Chairman Sulzer held the key of the position. He was summoned to the White House, the situation was laid before him, again he stood firm. If this country to-day is not at war with Mexico it owes it more to Congressman Sulzer than to any other man. Mr. Sulzer pointed out that Mexico is rich and can be held financially responsible for any damage done to American property or suffered by American citizens; that a war of conquest would be an international crime; that Latin-America would unite in protest if this great republic ruthlessly invaded the territory of a friendly sister nation. He refused to assent to the crossing of the Mexican border line by a single American soldier. He said that

if one man went over the whole Mexican people, irrespective of their political differences, would join to repel the invader and that the outcome would inevitably be a war that could only end by the conquest of every inch of Mexican territory. So much for the Mexican story.

ANOTHER TRIUMPH IN THE RUSSIAN PASSPORT AFFAIR.

The Russian passport question afforded Mr. Sulzer another signal triumph. It has been a thorn in the side of the State Department for forty years. American citizens bearing American passports were refused access to a country which had bound itself by the sacred ties of a solemn treaty to give free access to citizens of the United States, but which refused to admit Jews within its borders. Here was a friendly nation arrogating to itself the right to discriminate between American citizens and to discriminate on account of race and religion. Yet nothing had been done, and it almost seemed as though nothing ever would be done until Mr. Sulzer became Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. He took up the question. He cut the Gordian knot by introducing a resolution to abrogate the Russian treaty of 1832, and he made that resolution express the fundamental rights of American citizens at home and abroad. In urging its passage he told the House:

"I stand . . . for equal rights to all and special privileges to none—for the dignity of American citizenship here and everywhere."

Mr. Sulzer won a notable victory in passing his resolution through the House by the overwhelming vote of 300 to 1, and this forced the President to give to Russia the notice of abrogation directed to be given by the resolution. It is true that the Senate afterward amended the resolution, but in so doing they made no improvement and the Sulzer resolution as passed by the House will stand for all time as a landmark in the legislative history of the country regarding the rights of American citizens. Contrary to what was published, Russia never objected to the language of the House resolution directly or indi-

rectly, formally or informally, either in St. Petersburg or in Washington.

TRUE STORY OF THE PANAMA CANAL RIGHTS.

Last but not least of Congressman Sulzer's achievements has been the placing on the official records of Congress the true story of how the United States acquired the right to build the Panama Canal. The hearings that have so far been held by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs have proved conclusively:

First—That Mr. Roosevelt and some members of his administration were cognizant of and gave their support to the preparations being made for the Panama revolution.

Second—That the steps taken by Mr. Roosevelt to prevent Columbia from maintaining her sovereignty over the Isthmus of Panama and to prevent the landing of troops within the State of Panama and the suppression of the fake rebellion were in violation of the treaty of 1846-48; and,

Third—That the acts of Mr. Roosevelt in respect to the creation and recognition of the Republic of Panama were in violation, not only of the treaty obligations of the United States, but of fundamental principles of international law, which have been and are recognized by the United States as binding upon nations in their dealings with one another.

There is now every prospect that Columbia's claims will be submitted to the perament court of arbitration at The Hague, to which Mr. Taft and Mr. Knox have repeatedly expressed their desire to see all nations bring their international disputes for settlement. The far-reaching results of the great service Mr. Sulzer has rendered in this connection can best be realized by the fact that the anti-American feeling caused throughout the Latin republics by the rape of the Isthmus is costing the United States forty or fifty millions of dollars a year in trade alone and that the country is virtually paying for the Panama Canal twice over, once in money and once in trade.

Another signal service rendered to the cause of justice and liberty by Congressman Sulzer was the recognition of the republic of Portugal. This he has followed up by introducing this very week a resolution congratulating the people of China on the establishment of the Chinese republic. This resolution has been favorably reported to the House and its passage seems assured.

Some of the other public services rendered by Congressman Sulzer are the introduction of the resolution to change the Constitution of the United States to bring about the election of United States Senators by the people. This he has been advocating ever since he came to Congress and the victory is almost won. Mr. Sulzer is the author of legislation in Congress to give the people of this country the benefits of the parcels post, and there is every likelihood that before this session adjourns the bill will become a law.

Sulzer is also the author of a bill to restore the American merchant marine and for years has been advocating legislation to place the American flag on the high seas.

And there are others too numerous to mention. When the people wanted the wreck of the Maine raised Sulzer introduced the bill and passed it. He is the author of the bill to create a patent court of appeals. He is the author of the best copyright law ever placed upon the statute books of this country. And so on and so on.

Sulzer is patient and courteous, sincere and grateful. He knows what to do and how to do it. When he champions a cause for justice or humanity he never ceases to advocate it until that cause is won. His enthusiasm for right is only equalled by his perseverance to secure its final triumph.

"Work tells," is Sulzer's motto.

SULZER, THE UNSPOILED PUBLIC SERVANT.

(W. A. Lewis, in the "News," April 22, 1912.)

A Pen Picture of the Congressman from the Tenth District, Made at Close Range.

Sulzer is at his best in a chair to chair talk. This isn't true of many men, because the average individual cannot stand the intimate scrutiny that discloses personal blemishes quite as readily as it reveals deficiencies of mind. Most men in public, or in private life wear best and wear longest when seen at long range; and a goodly portion of our public men especially made their reputations judged from afar, seen on the rostrum, read in their speeches, captured by the camera.

Sulzer has opinions. He has them on all subjects that a public man ought to have them. You do not have to drag them out of him, nor does he load you up with them faster than you can digest them. He evidently believes heartily in what is known as "good fellowship." And by good fellowship I mean the warm communion of men in mental pursuits; not in the insane sense of shoulder-slapping and front name calling, but in the unaffectedness that betokens sincerity, in the cordiality that portrays amiability, in the low-voiced manner that indicates intention to sometimes do some listening to what the other fellow has to say.

Sulzer—if you don't happen to know him by sight—is not a classically beautiful man, because his features are broken up into these rugged juts of force, those abrupt bubbles of intensity, which tend to spoil the smooth even, waxen symmetry known as "regular features." Sulzer is a man, however, you'd believe and trust from the jump. You'd not doubt what he told you, and if he told you he'd do a thing you wouldn't give 5 cents to have it

guaranteed. You wouldn't need to. Sulzer inclines to the sandy or auburn complexion; his head is large, browful, his eyes big and full of seeing power; he looks at you when he talks and he talks at you, too. Sulzer doesn't pose; is free and off-hand, frank and to the point; he is in Washington to sit in Congress; he sits in Congress to represent his New York district, and he represents it with brains, intrepidity, squareness and fidelity.

I can easily understand why Sulzer isn't regarded with that seriousness that one would expect to attach to one who has been nearly all his life identified with public affairs. He is too democratic, too urbane, too much everybody's friend, too charitable and generous and free and cordial; doesn't hedge himself about enough to protect himself from more or less imposition that must be, and doubtless has been, detrimental to him.

It isn't my duty to give Sulzer advice, but for a public man he is unusually approachable. Of course that's the temper and mould of the man, and it has recommendations in it, but it has disadvantages as well. And when I hear Sulzer criticised I realize that it all arises from his super-candor, frankness, almost self-sacrificing readiness to do and be for others. In some respects this isn't always good policy. It makes people misunderstand you. It gives you a reputation for being superficial. It tends to lighten your public weight, whereas it ought to work just the other way.

But I didn't call on Sulzer to interview him, ask for his picture, and much to his credit, didn't see any pictures of him anywhere about. I believe the editor is going to print Mr. Sulzer's picture. If he does it isn't my fault.

I do not consider Sulzer an interviewable sort of man. That is to say, his views and opinions need the telling of them quite as much as they need be told. I know Sulzer has a reputation as a speechmaker; that he is in demand in elections; that he has a fame as a public talker. I never heard him make an address, so can't express a personal opinion. But he can't talk on his feet any more naturally, consistently and entertainingly than he can at his ease in a chair, in a quiet room, uninterrupted, un-

guided by any interviewing influences, knowing he is not talking for publication, than when he is talking on his favorite topic—and I know it's his favorite theme by the way he handled it—the great city and the great interests of New York.

Although Sulzer had some huge thinking task on his desk when I went in, he entered into the zest of our little chat with that luxurious indulgence of his mind in the pastime of a bit of relaxation offered by my visit. Maybe he cussed me under his breath for coming. Maybe my coming was at an inopportune time. But he didn't show it. He was gracious, cordial, clever, plain as an old shoe, as they put it, and the clock struck eleven before I knew it.

So I would intimate to you if you live in Sulzer's district, if you are one of his constituents (and if you are not, for that matter, the lesson is just as pat in any event), that as Congressmen go, as public men go, as official life goes, Sulzer is one of rare industry, application, approachableness, sincerity, sturdy character, conscientiousness. I found him at home! That meant a good deal to me. I found him at work! That meant more. If you knew the public life pace you'd appreciate this maybe more than you will.

Washington has—and has always had—its coterie of sporty Congressmen. They can't all be like Daniel Webster, you know, who drank brandy and played cards all night with Henry Clay before he made his great reply to Hayne. And Webster never saw the day he worked as hard for his constituency as Sulzer works for his. I'm not formulating any comparisons between Webster and Sulzer. I'm merely recording in Sulzer's favor certain personal peculiarities of Sulzer that are all right, that his New York friends may well be proud of, and which do the law-making work in the Capitol essential good.

Sulzer and I didn't talk politics in any personal sense, so what he looks forward to I haven't the remotest idea. I was asked by a friend of his to try and meet him some time. "Some time" was that very quiet evening, unannounced, unprepared. I enjoyed it. Did Sulzer? Well, I know not.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.

Mr. Sulzer is the author of the law to compel the Government to keep the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor lit from sundown to sunrise every day in the year.

Speaking in favor of the bill, in the House of Representatives, April 1, 1902, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, on the 1st day of March this year, by order of the Light-House Board, Liberty light, on Bedloe's Island, in the Harbor of New York, was extinguished. Just why the Light-House Board issued that order I know not, and no one whom I have talked to about it has been able to give a satisfactory explanation. In my opinion there is no good reason for that order. The light from Liberty's torch should not be put out. It is essential to commerce, but more than that, it represents a patriotic sentiment that should never be extinguished.

The great statue of Liberty Enlightening the World was unveiled on the 28th day of October, 1886. It was a splendid gift from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States. It was intended to be a bond of sympathy, of fraternal feeling, of undying memories, of lasting friendship, of eternal good will between the two great Republics. It meant sympathy for republics and republican institutions all over the world. It glorified liberty and fortified freedom. It was to be and it ever should be a great beacon light for democracy, dispelling the darkness of tyranny and welcoming to our hospitable shores the oppressed of every land. It was Bartholdi's apotheosis of liberty; a gift from the greatest Republic in Europe to the greatest Republic in all the world.

Its light should shine for all the ages. It should never

go out while liberty lives. It links the past with the present, and should be prophetic of the future.

At the unveiling of that magnificent monument to liberty, the President of the United States, the Cabinet officers, distinguished members of Congress, members of the legislatures of States, mayors of cities, judges, governors, and leading citizens from all parts of the country were present. It was a "red-letter day" in the history of this Republic. There was music, and eloquence, and ceremony. It commemorated one of the great civic events in our annals. It was an imposing celebration, and the hand on the dial plate of time pointed to liberty and the freedom of man. As such a beacon it has stood by day and shone by night.

It has meant much to us in many ways. It has stood for all the ideals of the Republic, and a bright harbinger to the weary immigrant after a tedious voyage. It has shone resplendent from the day it was unveiled until the 1st of last March, and then for some inexplicable reason the Light-House Board put out the light. What a commentary! In the face of what is now going on here, in the Orient, and elsewhere, how the eloquent words of the orators on that occasion mock us. What a difference between then and now! Things have changed.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I offered should be adopted by the House. It should be passed without a dissenting vote. Patriotism prompts it, and we should see to it that the light of Liberty should burn as brightly as ever. I do not know how much money is necessary to clean the statue, fittingly care for it, and properly light it, but my bill appropriates $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, gives the proper authorities discretion, and they will spend no more than is absolutely required. All I ask is to keep the light burning. That request should meet with no opposition from any patriotic citizen.

Since 1886 it has been a light-house essential to commerce and navigation in the harbor of New York. It is on all the charts. It aids to mark the channel, and every mariner, every seafaring man, has looked for it and recognized it, going in or coming out of the magnificent harbor of New York. Why is it that after all this time

this light must now go out? Is liberty dead? I hope not. I am a friend of liberty here and everywhere. As a citizen of this Republic, I take a just pride in the grandeur of Liberty Enlightening the World and for all it typifies here and symbolizes to people in other lands. I would not darken its effulgent light, but I would make it burn brighter and brighter as the years come and go. It stands at the gates of America, a magnificent altar to man's faith in liberty, whose light should penetrate the darkness of tyranny throughout the world and guide men from oppression to our hospitable shores of freedom.

Sir, I feel deeply on this subject. We will be derelict to duty, false to all the Republic stands for, and recreant to the memories of a century and the friendship of France, which has existed since our Revolutionary struggle, if we now permit that great statue of Liberty to stand in the darkness. What a flood of sentiment appeals to us in this matter. Can we so soon forget the past? Is recollection dead and gratitude a dream? Are the words of the fathers a hollow mockery? Is our past a lie, or shall liberty truly enlighten the world? I trust the response will be for liberty and in favor of continuing the light on Bedloes Island, in favor of keeping that great statue of Liberty Enlightening the World illumined from sundown to sunrise, so that it will be not only a guide to mariners, but a great beacon for all of liberty enlightening the world.

THE BEAUTIES OF YELLOWSTONE PARK.

From Mr. Sulzer's Speech in Congress, April 2, 1902, for the Extension and Preservation of Yellowstone Park.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: Yellowstone Park is a wonderland. It beggars description. The most eloquent tongue cannot describe its surpassing wonders, and the gifted pen of the most imaginative poet can not adequately picture the infinite variety of its sublime beauties. After you have read and heard all that mortal man can say, you must see it yourself to fully appreciate all its glories and startling revelations. It never palls; the eye never tires. From the time you leave Livingston until you return, the scenery is an inspiration and simply indescribable. It is one long panorama of grandeur—beautiful beyond comparison—a symphony of colors, a combination of architectural miracles.

Take it all in all, Yellowstone Park is the greatest, the grandest, the most picturesque, and the most marvelous picture in nature's art gallery—painted in all the radiant colors of the rainbow by the unerring hand of the Infinite—sculptured by the Supreme Creator of the universe—a testifying demonstration that the Great Jehovah liveth.

The establishment of this magnificent park, to be forever safe from the destroying vandal, and sacred for all time from the devastating hand of greedy commercialism, does great credit to the farseeing statesmanship of the men who conceived it, and to those who are now faithfully executing the trust for the benefit of millions yet unborn.

This national park was dedicated to man. It belongs to the people. No vandal must ever be permitted to dese-

crate it. Every citizen of the Republic should behold its glories and witness the beauties of nature's most perfect picture. I hope more people every year will visit this inspiring park, and I know they will go away benefited in mind and body. As the years come and go it will become more and more a sanitarium for the afflicted, an art gallery for the lovers of the beautiful, a Bohemia for the lotus-eating dreamers of the Better Day, and a great national playground, the recreation place of millions of the citizens of the Republic, where the rich and the poor, the great and the small shall have an equal right to commune with nature in her primeval wonders and in all her pristine glories.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH FOR JUSTICE TO THE NEGRO SOLDIERS.

(Delivered in the House of Representatives, Saturday, February 27, 1909.)

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: I am in favor of doing justice to the negro soldiers of Companies B, C and D, of the Twenty-fifth U. S. Infantry. I want to give these men their day in court. They are entitled to this and they never have had this opportunity of proving their innocence. If one be guilty let him be punished, but the innocent should be re-enlisted in the army and given all their rights and emoluments. The innocent should not be punished for the guilty. I voted in favor of this bill in the Committee on Military Affairs, and I shall vote to pass it through the House. No fair-minded man can consistently oppose this measure. It is honest and it is just.

It will be justice to the innocent men and go far to ascertain the guilty. If we fail to do substantial justice in the case, we will be false to ourselves and false to every principle that we revere. If we refuse to do impartial justice to the colored soldiers who are innocent, we will violate every tenet of our boasted love of fair play. In my opinion, if this bill becomes a law, no guilty man will be able to re-enlist in the army, and no innocent man should be prevented from doing so.

I have confidence that the board of inquiry created by this bill will be composed of men of ability and of high character. I have no doubt that the board will do its full duty in the premises, and I believe no soldier will be re-enlisted until it is shown beyond a reasonable doubt that he is guiltless of any complicity in the Brownsville affair. I have no race prejudice in a matter where justice is con-

cerned. I want to say that I am now and always have been, and I trust always will be, in favor of equal and exact justice to all men—here and everywhere throughout the world—without regard to race or to creed.

We must do justice in this matter. We cannot do less without stultifying ourselves and bringing our free institutions into strange contrast with our performances. I want to see justice done, and I hope the bill will pass. It is never too late to do justice. "For justice all seasons summer and all places a temple."

AN ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO THE JEWS.

Mr. Sulzer Denounced Russia for Jewish Outrages, and Introduced the Resolution Protesting Against the Same.

On December 18, 1905, Mr. Sulzer, speaking on his resolution, said in Congress:

Mr. Speaker: I arraign Russia before the bar of civilization for great crimes against a common humanity. The Russian government is responsible for these outrages on the Jews.

Why should we refrain from aiding the Jew in Russia? I say, in my judgment, it is the duty of our government to condemn these Jewish atrocities and to protest against these unspeakable crimes against the Jewish people in Russia in words that cannot be misunderstood, and I believe that if we do, that if we pass this resolution, that it will have the desired result and effectively put a stop to the Jewish outrages, atrocities and massacres in Russia. That right we have; let us exercise it. It will be a declaration to the Czar, and to the grand dukes, who are directly responsible for these crimes, that the House of Representatives of the United States sympathizes with the Russian Jews the same as we would with any other outraged and oppressed people, and that we are opposed to these race crimes and that the ruthless extermination of the Jews in Russia must cease. If this is all we can do, let us do it, and do it quickly; and I believe that if we do, our protest will be heard in St. Petersburg and that the Russian government will quickly see to it that the wholesale butchery of Jewish communities is stopped. We cannot ignore these crimes against humanity. We cannot escape our responsibility. These in-

nocent victims are our brothers and our sisters—mankind throughout the world are one. A great and continuing crime against one race is the concern of all the other races.

My heart goes out to the ravished and plundered and oppressed Jews in Russia. I grieve with those who grieve for the dead. I sympathize with the living and the terror-stricken. I have enlisted with all my soul in their cause, and in Congress and out of Congress I shall do all that I can to aid them to ameliorate their condition. I am not a bigot. I care naught for creed. I have no race prejudice. I stand for humanity, and a man is a man, for all that, to me. I have struggled all my life to help those who needed help, to do something to better the conditions of the poor and the humble, to aid oppressed humanity in every land and in every clime, and to raise the lowly to a higher plane and push them forward a step in the march of civilization.

I am a friend of the Jews. It is, however, unnecessary for me, or any one else to eulogize the intrepid sons and the virtuous daughters of Israel. The Jew needs no eulogy. All he asks is justice. All he demands is equal opportunity and equality before the law. The records of his race from the dawn of time down to the present day is the history of the march of humanity along the highways of progress and the avenues of civilization. In all ages of the world the ostracized Jew has done his share for his fellowman, for enlightenment, for liberty, for freedom, for progress and for civilization—and he has done it all in the face of adverse circumstances. In science and in art, in literature and philanthropy, the Jew, in all lands and in all times, has written his name high in the temple of fame. In statesmanship and diplomacy, in law and in medicine, in ethics and philosophy, in research and discovery, the greatness of the Jew is and ever has been unchallenged. In commerce and in trade, in industry and husbandry, overcoming forces that would deter another, he has held his own in the vanguard of progress. Persecuted for thousands of years, he has surmounted all obstacles; shunned for centuries, he has kept in the very front of the higher and the better civilization.

In trial and in triumph, in sunshine and in storm, in war and in peace, on land and on sea, in all eras and in all places, the Jewish race has written its enduring name and its eternal fame all over the pages of human history.

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC.

Mr. Sulzer introduced and passed the Resolution in Congress congratulating the people of China on the establishment of a Republic.

Speaking in favor of the Resolution on February 29, 1912, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. SPEAKER: By direction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution introduced by me, to congratulate the people of China on the establishment of the Chinese Republic, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read. This is a matter of some moment, and I hope there will be no objection to it. It is reported unanimously from the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

THE SPEAKER: The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of House joint resolution 254, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read House joint resolution 254, congratulating the people of China on their assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government, as follows:

"Whereas the Chinese nation has successfully asserted the fact that sovereignty is vested in the people, and has recognized the principle that government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, thereby terminating a condition of internal strife; and

"Whereas the American people are inherently and by tradition sympathetic with all efforts to adopt the ideals and institutions of representative government; therefore be it

"*Resolved, etc.,* That the United States of America congratulates the people of China on their assumption of the

powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government, and expresses the confident hope that in the adoption and maintenance of a republican form of government the rights, liberties, and happiness of the Chinese people will be secure and the progress of the country insured."

Mr. Sulzer: Mr. Speaker, the joint resolution just read by the Clerk congratulating the people of China on assuming the duties and the responsibilities of self-government speaks for itself and needs no apology and no explanation from any patriotic American. It should pass the Congress of the United States without a dissenting vote.

It is fitting and proper that the people of the United States of America should congratulate the people of China on their assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government, and to express the confident hope that in the adoption and maintenance of a republican form of government the rights, liberties and happiness of the Chinese people will be secure and the progress of the country insured.

The resolution is in diplomatic form according to custom, and in no way contravenes the status quo in the Orient or interferes with the protocol existing between the allied powers. Its adoption by Congress will be in line with our time-honored precedents.

The establishment of a republic in China is a great world event—momentous in the annals of human history. Its accomplishment speaks volumes for the moderation and the patriotism of the Chinese people, challenges the admiration of civilization, and gives renewed evidence of the growth and the progress of the cause of representative government.

I believe the people of China are capable of self-government. I reassert that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. I feel confident that the adoption of this resolution will meet with the approval of the liberty-loving people of our country. I indulge the hope that it will be followed ere long by Executive action officially recognizing the Republic of China. Long live the Republic of China!

MR. SULZER THE SOLDIER'S FRIEND AND CHAMPION.

From Speech in Congress February 23, 1910.

MR. SULZER said:

MR. SPEAKER: Let me say here again what I have often said before, that I am now, ever have been, and always will be the true and sincere friend of the men who saved our country in the greatest hour of its peril. We owe them a debt we can never pay. They are entitled to our everlasting gratitude, and gratitude, my friends, is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart. Let us be grateful lest we forget. My sympathy will always be with the brave boys who went to the front in the greatest crisis in all our country's history.

I introduced this bill for the boys in blue, because I am a friend of the soldiers who saved the Union, and I want to reward them while they live. Nobody here can ever say, and nobody outside of these halls will ever be able to say, that during all the years I have been a member of this House I ever voted against a just bill in the interests of the soldiers and sailors who saved the Union. This is a rich country; this is the land of liberty; this is the grand Republic; and it is all so to a large extent on account of what the brave and gallant men who marched from the North did in the great struggle for the Union.

We should be grateful to the soldiers who fought that great war to a successful end. I cannot bring my ideas in favor of this bill down to the level of mere dollars and cents. I place my views on higher ground. I want this bill to pass for patriotism—the noblest sentiment that animates the soul of man. I say that there is no gift in the Republic too great for the men who saved the Republic.

MR. SULZER'S ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO MAJOR GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES.

From Speech in Congress, April 15, 1910.

MR. SPEAKER: There is much to commend my bill to give General Sickles a higher rank, and many reasons why it should become a law. General Daniel E. Sickles was one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the Army of the Potomac and merits, in the opinion of those most competent to testify, any honor the Republic he helped to save can bestow on him in the sunset of his long and useful and patriotic life. He is the one heroic figure now living of the great civil conflict, and the last of the great corps commanders of the war for the Union.

General Sickles is now on the retired list as a major-general, and if this bill becomes a law it will simply place him on the "retired list" a grade higher, namely, that of lieutenant-general. In my opinion, General Sickles deserves this honor, and I can hardly believe that any person familiar with the great services he rendered in the crucial hour of the life of the Nation will begrudge him the distinction.

War experts the world over have testified that General Sickles is the hero of the battle of Gettysburg; and his bravery in that terrible struggle has stirred the heart of every patriotic American, and is one of the brightest pages in the history of the Republic. He deserves well of his country, and will ever be remembered by a grateful people.

What an eventful career Daniel E. Sickles has had. He was born in New York City on the 20th day of October, 1825, and is now in his eighty-fifth year. He received an academic education, studied law, and was

admitted to the bar in 1846, and began practice in New York City. His illustrious career typifies the opportunities of the Republic. It is a lesson to every American schoolboy. In 1847 he was elected to the legislature of New York, and quickly took a prominent part in its affairs. In 1849 he joined the Twelfth Regiment of the National Guard of the State of New York, and in 1851 became the major of the regiment. In 1853 he was made corporation attorney of New York City, and in the same year was appointed secretary to the American legation at London, and accompanied James Buchanan to England. He returned to New York in 1855, and in the fall of that year was elected to the Senate of the State of New York, in which he became a conspicuous figure as its most brilliant orator. In 1856 he was elected to Congress. He was re-elected in 1858, and served until March 3, 1861. It is doubtful if there be many living who saw earlier service in this House.

At the beginning of the civil war, as I have stated, at his own expense, he raised, organized, drilled, and equipped at Camp Scott, on Staten Island, in the bay of New York, the famous Excelsior Brigade of United States Volunteers, and was commissioned by President Lincoln Colonel of the first of the five regiments. On September 3, 1861, he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers. He commanded his brigade in the Army of the Potomac and gained great distinction in the battles of Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill. His brigade also saw service in the seven days' fight before Richmond, and afterward bore a conspicuous part in the Antietam campaign. He succeeded General Hooker in command of the second division of the Third Army Corps and greatly distinguished himself at Fredericksburg.

On the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac under Hooker in February, 1863, he was assigned to the command of the Third Army Corps and was appointed major-general on the 7th day of March, 1863, his commission dating from the 29th day of November, 1862. He displayed great gallantry at Chancellorsville, gaining the first success of the day by cutting off the rear of Jackson's forces and arresting a general panic

amongst the retreating artillery and troops of the Eleventh Corps and resisting Stonewall Jackson's attack with a skill and determination that won the admiration of friend and foe.

At Gettysburg his corps was posted on the left flank near Little Round Top. He advanced to the front on more elevated ground, which he thought desirable to hold, and in this position was assailed by General James Longstreet's entire assaulting column, while General John B. Hood endeavored to gain the unoccupied slope of Little Round Top. In the desperate struggle that followed Sickles's Third Corps effectively aided in preserving that important position, but was greatly shattered by the onset of overwhelming numbers under Longstreet. After the line was broken General Ambrose P. Hill followed the confederate advantage with an attack on Sickles's right, during which General Sickles lost a leg, but remained on the field in command of the troops—an act of heroism seldom witnessed in all the history of war, and for which he received the thanks of Congress and the congressional "medal of honor."

In my opinion, General Sickles deserves well of his country, and the brave soldiers in the North, as well as the gallant men of the Southland, who admire bravery and heroism, are anxious to cheer his declining days as the shadows darken with this additional recognition of his valor and his patriotism. This is especially just, when it is considered that the rank of lieutenant-general has been conferred upon Bates, and Young, and Corbin, and Chaffee, and others, some of whom performed very little service during the civil war. Why discriminate against Sickles? He was the greatest of them all.

Five promotions to the grade of lieutenant-general have been made by Congress since 1900, and these officers all gained their chief rank during or since the war with Spain, whilst only three officers who gained distinction in the civil war were raised to the grade of lieutenant-general. It is plain, therefore, that this bill will not make a "bad precedent," but, on the contrary, this bill cannot be a precedent, because there is no other among the major-generals on the retired list whose mili-

tary record approaches that of General Sickles. The true soldiers of the country, North and South, the grizzled veterans of the great conflict, petition Congress to pass this bill for General Sickles. Large numbers of the surviving officers of the Civil War desire to have this additional honor conferred upon the victor of Gettysburg, and I confidently submit that a grateful people, who realize the sacrifices Sickles made, will know the reason why if this bill fails to pass.

My friends, just a few words more. General Sickles's career is finished. He is a very old man. His great work is done. He has run the race. He has fought the good fight. He can live at best but a brief time. Who is there so unpatriotic that he would refuse this honor to this grand old battle-scarred veteran, with his gallant and heroic record?

THE PULASKI MONUMENT.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH IN FAVOR OF ERECTING A MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CASIMIR PULASKI.

In the House of Representatives, July 1, 1902.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: Monuments, sir, have been erected by vote of Congress in the city of Washington to many of the great Revolutionary heroes of this country. And among those that served America in the darkest days of the Revolution Casimir Pulaski figures as one of the most distinguished officers and martyrs. But no statue to the memory of Pulaski, his noble deeds and high-minded patriotism, appears here, although it should have been one of the first statues erected in Washington. It is a legacy bequeathed to us by the Continental Congress.

Away back in November, 1779, the Continental Congress, upon receiving notification of the death of General Pulaski through Major-General Lincoln, passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a monument be erected to the memory of Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, and that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a resolution for that purpose."

This resolution was never acted on, and it has come to the Congress of the United States as a sacred obligation from the Continental Congress. We should act on it without further delay.

We have erected in Jackson Park, fronting the White House, a statue to General Lafayette. That statue occupies a prominent corner. On the other corner we have

just unveiled a magnificent statue to General Rochambeau, and the two remaining corners of that park should be graced with the statues of General Pulaski and General Steuben. I hope this course will be followed. It would be, it seems to me, entirely proper and exceedingly consistent.

General Pulaski was born in Poland in 1747. As a mere lad he fought in his native country until its downfall, and then came to America to take up again the battle for liberty, until he fell at the siege of Savannah, on October 9, 1779. Many of his countrymen have, like Pulaski, immigrated to America to make this their home, and their numbers now are in the millions. They have been asking for the erection of this statue to their countryman, and many petitions have been received by Congress, urging that some action be taken on this bill to erect to his memory a suitable statue.

He deserves it. He was a lover of mankind, a friend of human freedom, and a believer in the rights of man. He was a brave soldier, a gallant officer, and he fought at home and here for liberty. He was one of the heroes of the Revolution, and he died for American independence. What he did for liberty will live forever.

He deserves this statue to perpetuate his memory among the people he helped to make free and for whom he sacrificed his life on the battlefield. It can be said of him and of his tragic death what a great poet has said of the sad death of his illustrious countryman—to paraphrase the couplet—

> "Hope for a season bade the patriots farewell,
> And Freedom shriek'd when Count Pulaski fell."

THE STEUBEN MONUMENT.

Mr. Sulzer's Speech in Favor of Erecting a Monument in Washington to General Von Steuben.

In the House of Representatives, March 9, 1902.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: General Von Steuben was a soldier. He drilled and disciplined the ragged Army of the colonists. He worked behind the scenes, but the work he did was of the utmost importance, and made it possible for the Continental Army to cope with the disciplined and experienced soldiers of England and win American independence.

The career of General Steuben is a most interesting and absorbing history of an exciting life. He was born November 15, 1730, at Magdeburg, a large Prussian fortress on the Elbe. At that time his father was captain in the Prussian engineers, and when he was called to service in the Crimea the son accompanied him. In 1740 he returned with his father to Prussia. In 1744, when scarcely 14 years of age, during the war of the Austrian Succession, he was present at the siege of Prague. Thus from his earliest years Steuben was familiar with soldiers and things pertaining to war.

In the Seven Years' War so greatly did he distinguish himself that he attracted the attention of Frederick the Great, who appointed Steuben aide-de-camp on his personal staff. He was one of six talented young officers whom the King personally instructed and initiated into the most abstruse branches of military art. The distinction of being thus chosen is convincing proof of Steuben's merit and promise. With Frederick the Great neither high birth nor family influence had any weight

in the selection of his military favorites; talent and fitness were the only recommendation to favor.

In 1764, having resigned from the service of Prussia, Steuben accepted the office of grand marshal of the court of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, the honorable and responsible duties of which he discharged with great credit for ten years. For some years the dignified tranquillity of court life furnished agreeable repose for him, tired as he was of the bivouac and the camp. But it could not satisfy his ardent and impetuous temperament or induce him to renounce the active duties from which for a season he had withdrawn. So he began to look around for a fitting opportunity to re-enter active military service.

He left Europe, where he had won hard-earned distinction and fame—where, if he was not opulent, he had at least a sufficient competence—to serve a country engaged in an obstinate, exhausting, and hitherto unsuccessful war, where his prospects of professional advancement were by no means assured, and which offered no inducements of a pecuniary or material nature. Confident in himself, urged by high and generous motives, he determined to offer his sword to a people struggling for their rights and liberties. He made no conditions. He bargained for no reward.

Arriving at Portsmouth, N. H., on the first day of December, 1777, Steuben, on December 6, wrote to the Continental Congress a letter which is worthy of being quoted here in its entirety, as illustrating the spirit of the man. It was as follows:

"Honorable Gentlemen: The honor of serving a nation engaged in defending its rights and liberties was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany, at my own expense, and have given up honorable and lucrative rank. I have made no condition with your deputies in France, nor shall I make any with you. My only ambition is to serve you as a volunteer, to deserve the confidence of your General-in-Chief, and to follow him in all his operations as I have

done during seven campaigns with the King of Prussia.

"Two and twenty years spent in such a school seems to give me a right of thinking myself among the number of experienced officers, and if I am possessed of the acquirements in the art of war they will be much more prized by me if I can employ them in the service of a republic such as I hope soon to see America. I should willingly purchase at the expense of my blood the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders of your liberty. Your gracious acceptance will be sufficient for me, and I ask no other favor than to be received among your officers. I venture to hope that you will grant this my request, and that you will be so good as to send me your orders to Boston, where I shall await them and take suitable measures in accordance."

In a letter to Washington, of the same date, he said:

"SIR: The inclosed copy of a letter, the original of which I shall have the honor to present to Your Excellency, will inform you of the motives that brought me over to this land. I shall only add to it that the object of my greatest ambition is to render the country all the service in my power, and to deserve the title of a citizen of America by fighting for the cause of your liberty. If the distinguished ranks in which I have seen service in Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under Your Excellency as a volunteer than to be an object of discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among you.

"Such being the sentiments I have always professed, I dare hope that the respectable Congress of the United States of America will accept my services. I could say, moreover, were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that Your Excellency is the only person under whom, after having served the King of Prussia, I could wish to follow a profession to the study of which I have wholly devoted myself. I intend to go to Boston in a few days, where I shall present my letters to Mr. Hancock, member of Congress, and there I shall await Your Excellency's orders."

At Boston Steuben was entertained by John Hancock, who had just retired from the presidency of the Continental Congress, and here, after waiting five weeks, he received Washington's answer to his letter. It advised him to report at once to Congress, then sitting at York, Pa., since it belonged exclusively to that body to enter into negotiations with him.

The fame of Steuben had preceded him to York, and he was cordially received by Congress. A committee of three members was appointed to confer with him and ascertain the conditions on which he was willing to serve the United States, and whether he had made any arrangements with the American Deputies in France.

He said that he had made no agreement with them, nor was it his intention to accept any rank or pay: that he wished to join the Army as a volunteer, and to render such services as the Commander-in-Chief should think him capable of. The Continental Congress, through its president, Mr. Laurens, accepted his generous proposition and directed him to report to General Washington at Valley Forge. Here Steuben began a work the value of which can scarcely be overestimated.

He made the patriotic army a disciplined and effective force—the drilled corps that ultimately won the war for freedom. He worked incessantly to do this under the greatest difficulties and most adverse circumstances, but he succeeded, and the credit for it is all his own. American history some day will do him full justice and give him a high place in our temple of fame.

On the 30th of April, 1778, about six weeks after Steuben had commenced his active duties, Washington made the following report to Congress:

"The extensive ill consequences arising from a want of uniformity in discipline and maneuvers throughout the Army have long occasioned me to wish for the establishment of a well-organized inspectorship, and the concurrence of Congress in the same views has induced me to set on foot a temporary institution, which, from the success which has hitherto attended it, gives me the most flattering expectations.

"Baron Steuben's length of service in the first military school of Europe and his former rank pointed him out as a person peculiarly qualified to be at the head of this department. This appeared the least exceptionable way of introducing him into the Army, and the one that would give him the most ready opportunity of displaying his talent. I therefore proposed to him to undertake the office of Inspector-General, which he agreed to do with the greatest cheerfulness, and has performed the duties of it with a zeal and intelligence equal to our wishes.

"I should do injustice if I were to be longer silent with regard to the merits of Baron Steuben. His knowledge of his profession, added to the zeal which he has displayed since he began upon the functions of his office, leads me to consider him an acquisition to the service, and to recommend him to the attention of Congress."

The "recommendation" of Washington was that Steuben be made Inspector-General of the American Army with the rank of major-general. The recommendation of Washington was followed by Congress, and by act of May 5, 1778, Steuben was created a major-general and assigned to the duties of Inspector-General of the Army.

Mr. Speaker, such in brief is the story of General Steuben, one of the bravest and most valuable officers of the Continental Army. He served throughout the Revolutionary war and was of inestimable service to Washington, who never failed to testify to his abilities and the great work he had done in the cause of American independence.

When peace came and the United States had taken her place among the nations of the world, this battle-scarred veteran—grand old General Steuben—who had been a tower of strength to George Washington from Valley Forge to Yorktown, quietly resigned his commission in the Army of the United States and retired to a log hut in the backwoods of the State of New York—away from the crowded marts of trade and the peopled thoroughfares of towns and cities—to live and die in peace.

He rendered great service to this country in its most

trying hour, in the darkest days of its struggle for independence, and in his name, in the name of all that he did and accomplished, in the name of the Continental Congress, in the name of honor and gratitude, I appeal to every member of this House to vote for this bill to erect to his memory a fitting statue to commemorate his heroic deeds and to perpetuate forever his imperishable glory.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN ITALY.

SPEECH IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM SULZER, OF NEW YORK, AT THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN RELIEF MEETING HELD IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, JANUARY 7, 1910.

Mr. Sulzer said:

The calamitous earthquake shock which overwhelmed fair Messina and beautiful Calabria, in Southern Italy, is without doubt the most terrible catastrophe of its kind in loss of life and destruction of property that has occurred in modern times. No tongue can tell, and no pen can picture, the awful scenes of that heartrending tragedy. It has appalled civilization. All the world weeps with Italy. Thousands and thousands of lives were blotted out in almost the twinkling of an eye, and thousands and thousands of others have been injured and are now homeless and in great destitution. The woe and the want there is simply indescribable. The loss of human life is appalling and the misery entailed by the tragic calamity has aroused the heartfelt sympathy of the civilized world. Every nation is doing its best to help Italy in her hour of disaster, and no country, I am proud to say, is doing more than our own—the great Republic of the United States. God bless our dear land, God succor Sunny Italy.

The world owes much to Italy—civilization can never pay the debt. For two thousand years and more she has been in the vanguard of the world's progress. Destroy what Italy has done for mankind and you will leave a void that will never be filled. In commerce and trade; in discovery and in invention; in science and in research; in law and in medicine; in art and in literature; in phi-

lanthropy and in philosophy; in diplomacy and in statesmanship; in war and in peace—on land and sea—in all eras and in all places—the Italian race has written its eternal fame all over the pages of human history.

Let us aid Italy in her hour of sorrow. Let us be grateful to Italy for what Italy has done for us—for mankind. Gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the sympathetic soul of man. Italy has given the world all she can. Let us of America in a spirit of gratitude give Italy all that we can to relieve her stricken children in their day of direst distress.

It has been said that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin; and that sentiment was never better exemplified than at the present time, when the people of all countries are doing everything in their power to render such aid as they can to the stricken people of Southern Italy. It proves that the world is growing better, and kindlier, and more brotherly. All hail the Brotherhood of Man!

A TRIBUTE TO THE LETTER CARRIERS.

Mr. Sulzer was the author of the Letter Carriers' Bill, and after a ten-years' fight in Congress passed it.

The following brief extract is from one of his speeches for the letter carriers.

How poorly, how miserably the letter carriers are paid! Under the present law they do not, and cannot, earn enough, no matter how long they have been in the service of the government or how many hours a day they labor, to keep body and soul together. And what do they get? A mere pittance a month that is not enough to economically support one man. It is a disgrace, a crying shame. Many of these letter carriers have wives and children—little homes—and these wives and children in many cases are to-day in want.

These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service, and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out—in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather—sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and taking all other employees in the various departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it cannot be denied that the letter carriers render the most and hardest work for the smallest remuneration. Let us be just to these honest, hard-working, and faithful men.

FOR COLUMBUS DAY.

Mr. Sulzer Is the Author of the Bill to Make October 12 a Legal Holiday to Be Known as "Columbus Day."

Speaking in favor of the bill in the House of Representatives on April 28, 1906, Mr. Sulzer said:

This bill of mine to make the 12th day of October in each year and every year a legal holiday, and to be known as 'Columbus Day,' was prepared and introduced by me in response to what I believe to be a general sentiment prevailing throughout the country.

In my judgment the greatest event in a thousand years, in the history of civilization, and for the benefit of humanity, was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus on the 12th day of October, 1492.

It wrote a great epoch page in the earth's history, changed the map of the world, revolutionized science, lifted man to a higher plane, and pushed him forward a gigantic step in the glorious march of progress.

It swept away the cobwebs of the dark ages, killed superstition, revived learning, stimulated individual endeavor, opened the gates of opportunity, and gave to the Old World a New World.

THE RAISING OF THE MAINE.

MR. SULZER WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE BILL IN CONGRESS, AND STRUGGLED FOR TEN YEARS TO PASS THE LAW TO RAISE THE MAINE.

Speaking in favor of his bill in Congress on Tuesday, February 16, 1909, he said:

Mr. Speaker: Yesterday was the eleventh anniversary of the destruction of the *Maine* in the harbor of Habana. That event made history, wrote a glorious chapter in our annals, and changed the map of the world. More than a decade has now come and gone since that tragic event occurred, and as yet nothing has been done by the Government of the United States to raise the wreck of the *Maine*, and to bring home and bury, with naval honors, in Arlington Cemetery, the remains of the sixty-odd brave and gallant sailors entombed in that hulk in the muck and slime of Habana Harbor.

The records in the Navy Department show that 231 men were killed when the *Maine* was blown up; that 24 bodies were immediately recovered and buried in Key West, Fla.; that later 144 bodies were recovered and buried in Habana; that these bodies were subsequently brought home and buried in the national cemetery at Arlington; that at least 63 bodies were never recovered or accounted for, and are now entombed in the wreck of the *Maine*. For some inexplicable reason the *Maine* has never been raised and these bodies of the nation's heroic dead recovered and brought home for burial.

Our dereliction in this matter is little less than a national disgrace. It is becoming a big black blot on our boasted patriotism. Public sentiment has demanded for years that the wreck of the *Maine* be raised; that the truth of her destruction be told; that the derelict be re-

moved from the channels of commerce; that the bodies of these brave sailors who sacrificed their lives on the altar of their country be recovered and brought home and decently interred in the national cemetery.

Sir, for several years past I have endeavored in every way in my power to have something done about this deplorable matter, but thus far without success. Long ago I introduced a resolution which passed the House unanimously, calling on the Secretary of the Navy for information as to the cause of delay. The Secretary of the Navy sent to the House of Representatives, in compliance with that resolution, some data which was printed as a House document and is now before the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I send to the Clerk's desk, and ask to have read, my bill to Raise the Maine.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 21176) to raise the wreck of the U. S. battle ship *Maine* in Habana Harbor, and remove the bodies therein to Arlington Cemetery for interment.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to forthwith prepare and publish proposals requesting bids for the removal of the wreck of the U. S. battle ship *Maine*, now sunk in Habana Harbor, and have the bodies therein brought to Washington for interment in the national cemetery at Arlington; and that the contract or contracts for the purposes herein specified shall be let to the lowest responsible bidder.

"SEC. 2. That the President be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to make the necessary arrangements, if any be necessary, for the purposes herein designated, with the Republic of Cuba.

SEC. 3. That any money now at the disposal of the Navy Department is hereby made applicable for the purposes herein specified, and if the same be not sufficient to carry out the purposes herein specified, then such sum of money as may be necessary to meet all the requirements of this act is hereby appropriated, out of any

money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to carry out the provisions of this act.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, that bill speaks for itself. It is now slumbering in the Committee on Naval Affairs, where it has been pigeon-holed ever since I introduced it. I have done everything in my power to get it reported, but thus far without success. I say now it should be speedily reported and passed ere this session of Congress adjourns. It will accomplish the object desired, and it meets with the approval of the patriotic people of this country. The delay has been disappointing to the friends of the *Maine's* heroic dead. I proclaim that the Government has been recreant in this matter. But I am not disheartened. I shall keep working for this legislation until the *Maine* is raised and the bodies of our dead sailors are brought home for interment. The fault is not mine. I have done, and I am trying to do, my duty. The fault is with the Naval Affairs Committee of this House. The members of this committee are to blame for the disgraceful neglect and delay. Yesterday being the eleventh anniversary of this tragical calamity, I tried to get the Speaker to recognize me, it being suspension day in the House, to make a motion to suspend the rules, discharge the Committee on Naval Affairs from further consideration of my bill, and pass the same. The Speaker refused to grant me recognition, although the Speaker recognized other Members on the floor for the purpose of calling up and passing bills far less commendable than my bill to raise the *Maine,* the enactment of which is demanded by our liberty-loving people from one end of the land to the other.

Mr. COX of Indiana. How much do you estimate it will cost?

Mr. SULZER. Less than $500,000, according to competent experts, and I think the Navy Department has available now all the money that is necessary for the purpose—money that was heretofore appropriated. All that is necessary to do now is to pass my bill directing it to be done.

Mr. COX of Indiana. Has the gentleman any data as to the physical value of the *Maine* after it is raised?

Mr. SULZER. Possibly the old hulk will have no great monetary value save for scrap; but that is not the question. This matter is one of gratitude to those who died for their country—of patriotism—of sentiment—of all that makes a nation grand and great. It rises above the sordid question of dollars and cents. I say there are entombed in the hulk of the *Maine* the bodies of 63 brave and loyal sailors who died for their country, and the greater value is in the gratitude of the Government for which they offered up their lives; and if we do not do our plain duty in the premises we will be false to ourselves; false to our boasted patriotism; false to the demands of public sentiment now sweeping over the land, which insists that the Congress now legislate to remove the wreck of the *Maine* and bring these bodies home and bury them with their comrades in Arlington Cemetery. That is the duty of the hour—raise the *Maine*—lest we forget——

Mr. COX of Indiana. Can these bodies be recovered by diving?

Mr. SULZER. No, they cannot. They are buried in the hulk of what is left of the *Maine*, and the wreck must be removed—raised—to get the bodies; and the old hulk should be removed because it is a menace to navigation, and the Cubans want it out of the way.

Mr. COX of Indiana. And the gentleman says there are still 63 bodies in the wreck of the *Maine?*

Mr. SULZER. Yes; at least that many, according to official reports.

Now, sir, during the Spanish-American war our battle cry was "Remember the *Maine!*" Have we forgotten that? Have we, forsooth, so soon forgotten the *Maine?* Should not every prompting of patriotism impel us not only to remember the *Maine*, but to raise the Maine? The veterans of the Spanish-American war, from one end of the country to the other, are very much in favor of action along the lines of my bill, and nearly every camp has passed resolutions favoring its speedy enactment into law. Our neglect of the dead sailors buried in the

wreck of the *Maine* is a shame and a disgrace. The wreck of the *Maine* must be raised. The bodies of our gallant seamen must be brought home and interred with their ill-fated comrades in the national cemetery. Let us do our duty. Let us enact this law. Let us raise the *Maine*. Let us find out for all time if the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion from within or without. Let the truth be known to all the world. I am not afraid of the truth. No true American is afraid of the truth. The raising of the *Maine* will forever dissipate doubt—forever clear the sky of history—forever be a credit to our heart, and our manhood, and our patriotism, and our gratitude to our heroic dead.

TAFT SIGNS MAINE BILL.

(*Special to "New York World."*)

Directs That Pen He Used Be Sent to Representative Sulzer.

Washington, May 9.—The President to-day signed the bill providing for the raising of the battleship *Maine,* which has lain in the Havana harbor for twelve years.

After the President had affixed his signature he directed that the gold pen with which he signed the measure should be sent to Representative William Sulzer, of New York, as a memento of the long fight which Mr. Sulzer has made to secure the passage of this legislation. Mr. Sulzer has been the most persistent and earnest advocate of the movement to raise the *Maine,* and was the author of the bill to legalize such a task.

THE RAISING OF THE MAINE.

ARMY AND NAVY UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

NEW YORK, April 4, 1910.

Hon. Wm. Sulzer,
115 Broadway,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Comrade:

On the occasion of the installation of officers of the Army and Navy Union Garrison, that bears your distinguished name, you told us that whenever you had done anything that merited our approval to drop you a line and say, "Well done, Bill."

Not from Sulzer Garrison No. 12 alone, but from every hamlet, town and city throughout these Broad States, and, as a matter of fact, from every corner of the habitable globe wherein the spirit of humanity has found lodgment, the approving verdict of "Well done, Bill," is rendered, for it was mainly through your untiring efforts that slothful official America was awakened to a sense of its duty in raising the *Maine* and removing the remains of the heroes from the slimy ooze of Havana harbor to the parent soil in whose fair honor they yielded up their lives.

Is it any wonder, then, that when your photograph was presented to the garrison by Comrade Simmons, that it was immediately given a prominent place beneath the "grand old flag" you so ably represent and defend?

The great Empire State may feel justly proud of her loyal son, Garrison No. 12 particularly so in possessing so intrepid a "standard bearer," and on reading that dark page in our nation's history the lisping tongues of the generations to come will confirm the verdict the whole country to-day renders—"Well done, Bill."

Enjoying in the fullest measure the riches of prosperity, health and happiness, long may you be spared, respected by all peoples, honored by your country, beloved by the American citizen.

With the assurance of my highest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, in Freedom, Loyalty and Charity.

Fraternally your comrade,

Jos. De Souza,

Commander of Wm. Sulzer Garrison No. 12.

Wm. J. Stayskell,

Adjutant.

MR. SULZER THE CONSISTENT FRIEND OF CUBA.

From Mr. Sulzer's Speech in the House of Representatives, March 27, 1902.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: Let me reiterate what I have frequently said before on this floor, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of Cuba. The record will show that ever since I have been a member of this House I have done all in my power for the Cuban people. I am glad the bright day is not far distant when the Cuban Republic will take her place among the nations of the earth. May success, prosperity, and domestic tranquillity abide with her forever.

The time is at hand, nevertheless, when we must live up to our sacred obligations to Cuba. We must grant her the freedom and the independence promised. We must launch this young Republic of Cuba on the ocean of nations and say to all the world, Cuba is free and independent. We must say to every nation, She is our creation—a daughter of the great Republic—and any interference with her will be an act unfriendly to the Government of the United States.

But that is not all. We must now grant her immediate trade relief. In a commercial way she is at our mercy. That is not her fault—it is our fault. Congress has made it practically impossible for Cuba to market her products in other countries; they must be sold here, and they cannot be sold in this country at present, except at a ruinous loss, unless our tariff law is modified. This must be done at once—it should have been done months ago. If it is not speedily done I predict that conditions in Cuba will soon be worse than they ever

were before. The situation is serious and admits of no further delay.

The Secretary of War, General Wood, President-elect Palma, and every person familiar with the present situation in Cuba have all urged Congress to reduce the existing tariff taxes on Cuban exports to this country at least 50 per cent. But nothing has been done. The Republican leaders cannot agree, the Ways and Means Committee will not act, and industrial Cuba is becoming paralyzed. I predict that if this selfish policy is continued much longer the doctrine of protection will soon be destroyed by its foolish worshipers.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of doing something now to avert calamity in Cuba. I want to see Cuba free and happy and prosperous. I will vote for any measure to reduce the present tariff duties between this country and Cuba. In my judgment we should have freer trade with Cuba. It would be beneficial to us and advantageous to the Cubans. It would help the people of both countries.

But I say now, and it must be apparent to any one who gives the subject consideration, that if relief comes by tariff reduction the present duties must be reduced at least one-half. Anything less in this line will be useless and futile, and Cuba will go back to a condition of commercial stagnation that will cost us dearly in the end, and the fault will be all our own.

In the last three years the balance of trade has been over $30,000,000 against the island. Her people have exhausted their resources in an heroic struggle to build up their industries, but they cannot go on spending more than they receive any longer, and this year's sugar crop, which will be over 800,000 tons, represents their supreme effort, and unless relief comes—and comes quickly—we must expect a crisis which will render Cuba's position most deplorable and ours most embarrassing.

When the Congress adopted the so-called Platt amendment, which I voted against, and which in my judgment never should have been adopted, it took an unfair advantage of Cuba; but when that amendment finally became a law, the Cuban people accepted it in good faith,

and, at our request, wrote it into their constitution. By virtue of that amendment Cuba is commercially helpless to-day, and unable to make treaties of a commercial character to market her products. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that it is incumbent on this Government to grant some trade relief to Cuba by which her products can be admitted into this country and sold without a loss.

THE ELECTION OF SENATORS IN CONGRESS BY THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Sulzer is the author of the Resolution in Congress to amend the Constitution so that U. S. Senators shall be elected by the People.

Speaking in favor of his Resolution on May 27, 1908, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: The Democratic party to-day favors every reform demanded by the patriotic and intelligent electorate of the country. It is now, as it ever has been, the party of the plain people, and the party of the Constitution. It stands for equal rights to all, and special privileges to none. It is opposed to the centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery, under color of law, of the many. It is opposed to the further centralization of power in the Federal Government by depriving the States of their reserved rights. It is the foe of subsidies and of every special privilege; and, as a minority party, in recent years it has accomplished much for the general welfare in preventing the enactment of iniquitous legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many.

The Democratic party favors the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, and will make it a live issue in the coming campaign. It favors this change in the Federal Constitution as it will every other change that will restore the Government to the control of the people. It wants the people, in fact as well as in theory, to rule this great Republic and the Government at all times to be responsive to their just demands.

In my opinion, the people can and ought to be trusted They have demonstrated their ability for self-government. If the people cannot be trusted, then our Govern-

ment is a failure, and the free institutions of the fathers doomed. We must rely on the people, and we must legislate in the interests of all the people and not for the benefit of the few.

We witness to-day in the personnel of the United States Senate the supplanting of democracy by plutocracy. Here Mammon is intrenched. Here the predatory combinations take their stand and defy the people. Here is the last bulwark of the criminal trusts. Here is the citadel of the unscrupulous monopolies. And more and more the special interests of the country, realizing the importance of the Senate, are combining their forces to control the election of Federal Senators through their sinister influence in State legislatures. Forty-six United States Senators can prevent the enactment of a good law or the repeal of a bad law. The United States Senate is the most powerful legislative body in the world and its members should be elected by the people of the country just the same as the Representatives in Congress are elected. This is of the utmost importance to the plain people of the country, because when the Senate is directly responsible to the people they will control it; and then, and not till then, will that august body respond to the will of the people.

The right to elect United States Senators by a direct vote of the people is a step in advance and in the right direction. I hope it will speedily be brought about. It is the right kind of reform, and I hope it will be succeeded by others, until this Government becomes indeed the greatest and the best and the freest Government the world has ever seen, where the will of the people shall be, as it ought to be, the supreme law of the land.

Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been a Member of this House I have advocated and worked faithfully to bring about the election of Senators in Congress by the direct vote of the people. In every Congress in which I have served I have introduced a joint resolution to amend the Constitution to enact into law this most desirable reform, and the record will show that I have done everything in my power, in Congress and out of Congress, to secure its accomplishment. On several occasions the

resolution has passed the House, only to fail in the Senate, because the Senate would not allow the question to come up for action. At the beginning of this session of Congress I again reintroduced my resolution to amend the Constitution so that United States Senators shall be elected by the direct vote of the people. It is similar to the resolution I introduced in all previous Congresses of which I have been a Member. I now send this joint resolution to the Clerk's desk and ask to have it read in my time, so that it will be printed in the *Record* as a part of my remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 137) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators of the United States by direct vote of the people.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall become and be part of the Constitution, viz.: In lieu of the first and second paragraphs of section 3 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States of America the following shall be proposed as an amendment to the Constitution:

SEC. 3. First. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, who shall be elected by a direct vote of the people thereof for a term of six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. A plurality of the votes cast for candidates for Senator shall elect, and the electors shall have the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature.

Second. When vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, in the representation of any State in the Senate, the same shall be filled for the unexpired term thereof in the same manner as is provided for the election of Senators in paragraph 1: *Provided,* That the executive thereof shall make temporary appointment until

the next general or special election, held in accordance with the statutes or constitution of such State.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker: That joint resolution speaks for itself. It needs no apology. I believe it is right. I know the people favor it. I want to see it a part of the fundamental law of the land. I want to make the Senate less aristocratic and more democratic. I want to make it more obedient to man and less responsive to Mammon. I want to make it pay more heed to the appeals of the people and listen less to the demands of plutocracy. I want the Senate to be the people's Senate, in the interest of the many and for the benefit of all the people, and its accomplishment will keep the Government nearer the masses and herald the dawn of a better and a brighter day in the onward march of the Republic.

The people all over this country demand this much-needed change in the Federal Constitution, so that they can vote directly for Senators in Congress, and they appeal to us to enact this law to give them that right. It is not a partisan question, neither is it a sectional issue. The demand reaches us from all parts of the land and from men in all political parties with a degree of unanimity that is quite surprising. It is our duty to respect the wishes of the people and to give them a uniform law allowing them to vote for Senators in Congress just the same as they now vote for Representatives in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to delegating away the rights of the people, and where they have been delegated away I would restore them to the people. I trust the people and I believe in the people. I believe that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and hence I want to restore to the people the right now delegated to the legislatures by the framers of the Constitution, so that the Senate as well as the House will be directly responsible to the people and the Government become more and more a pure democracy, where brains, fitness, honesty, ability, experience and capacity, and not wealth and subserviency,

shall be the true qualifications for the upper branch of the Federal Legislature.

It may be said that it will be useless, and a waste of time, for the House to again pass this joint resolution, as the Senators will never consent to a change in the method of their selection. That may be true in regard to some of the Senators, but I know it is not true in regard to all of them. Many of them favor this change and advocate it. If we pass this resolution, it is true it may fail again, as it has failed before, to meet the approval of the Senate, but those who believe in this change will not give up the struggle to bring it about until it is accomplished, and, mark my words, sooner or later it will be accomplished.

If a majority of the Senators oppose the adoption of this resolution in this Congress and from private motives, or personal ideas, vote it down, the agitation of the people for this much-needed reform in the organic law will not cease, but will become more and more pronounced until there shall be a Senate that will listen to their demands. Do not be deceived; make no mistake; this reform is growing more and more in favor with the people every year and is destined to become more and more popular until in the near future it will be adopted.

Already twenty-seven States have passed joint resolutions through their respective legislatures demanding this change in the Constitution. These States are Pennsylvania, Indiana, Texas, California, Nevada, Missouri, Nebraska, Arkansas, Wyoming, North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado, Louisiana, Kansas, Montana, Wisconsin, Oregon, Michigan, Tennessee, Idaho, South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Kentucky, Minnesota, Iowa, and Oklahoma.

The action of these twenty-seven States of the Union demanding this change in the Federal Constitution, so that the people shall have the right to vote directly for United States Senators in Congress should be conclusive, and must impress Senators who are doing all in their power to prevent the enactment of this law that patience has almost ceased to be a virtue, and unless they take heed in time these States and some of the other States

favorable to this reform will call a constitutional convention on their own initiation and amend the Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people. This is a most important question to all the people and the Senate will make a sad mistake if it attempts longer to ignore it. The people are in earnest in this matter and any attempt to thwart their will in this reform will only hasten its consummation.

The adoption of this joint resolution will prevent corruption in State legislatures, stop scandal, and end to a great extent the temptation of political parties to gerrymander legislative districts for partisan purposes. Let me say to this House that this legislative gerrymandering has been carried further by the Republican party in my own State of New York than perhaps in any other State in the Union. In the State of New York, under the present outrageous Republican apportionment the people cannot secure a Democratic legislature unless the Democratic party carries the State by at least a plurality of 100,000 votes.

The Republicans in their partisanship went so far that they wrote in our State constitution that no matter what the population of Greater New York should be, no matter if it were twice as large as the population of the rest of the State, the city of Greater New York should never have more than one-half the members in the upper branch of our State legislature. I believe the change in our Federal Constitution sought to be made by this resolution will almost entirely prevent these unfair and outrageous apportionments and at the same time give the worthy man the same opportunity under the law as the corporation's man to submit his cause and his candidacy to the arbitrament of the people for the high and honorable office of a Senator in Congress.

MR. SULZER OPPOSED TO SHIP SUBSIDIES.

From Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress March 2, 1909.

Mr. Speaker: The proposition under consideration is essentially a ship-subsidy bill—nothing more and nothing less. Call it what you will, the subsidy features cannot be disguised. It is a subsidy subterfuge, and the merest kind of a miserable makeshift. If it is enacted into law, it will retard intelligent shipping legislation for a decade at least. I am opposed to the bill, and I trust it will be decisively defeated.

I am now, and always have been, and always expect to be absolutely opposed to ship subsidies of every kind that rob the many for the benefit of the few. Ship subsidies do not build ships; they create ocean-trading monopolies. Ship subsidies will not give workmen employment in American shipyards; the money taken without justification from the Treasury of the people will simply go into the pockets of the owners of the ships now in commission. Every scheme of this kind simply permits respectable corruption and benefits the few at the expense of the many. The principle of ship subsidies is inherently wrong and absolutely indefensible, and no man who understands the question can justify the robbery in the face of the facts.

Mr. Speaker, there is no man in this country more anxious and more willing to enact proper legislation to restore the American merchant marine than myself, but I want to do it honestly; I want to do it along constitutional lines; and I want to do it in harmony with that fundamental American principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

For years I have been advocating honest and intelligent legislation to restore our merchant marine, and for

years Congress has turned to my appeals a deaf ear. The Congress is responsible for the present deplorable condition of our merchant marine, and every intelligent student of the subject is aware of the fact.

In 1896 the Republican party wrote in its national platform a plank to restore the American merchant marine by discriminating duties. That meant something, but Mr. Hanna, the then leader of the Republican party, came to Congress and instead of adhering to that plan he introduced a bill for ship subsidies, an outrageous measure which was overwhelmingly defeated. Thereupon I introduced a bill for discriminating duties, and the Republicans refused to allow it to be considered.

The Republican party abandoned the plank of 1896 for discriminating duties and did not have the courage to readopt it, or renounce it, in its platform of 1900, and studiously avoided committing its followers to any policy in its platforms of 1904 and 1908. No political party in all the history of our country has ever dared to write in its platform a plank in favor of ship subsidies, and, in my opinion, no party that does not welcome defeat will ever do it.

The Republican leaders in Congress, notwithstanding their party professions to the contrary, have been advocating ever since I have been in the House of Representatives, the restoration of the American merchant marine by ship subsidies, by gratuities that rob all the people in order to foster a special industry. I am opposed to ship subsidies, and this proposition is a ship-subsidy measure pure and simple. It is a little ship subsidy, it is true, and that is the apology its advocates now make for it. It is just a little subsidy, forsooth, but I warn the Members that it is the entering wedge to open the Treasury of the people, and if it is adopted it means in the end a gigantic raid on the country's finances, not for $3,000,000 a year, but for $30,000,000 a year, and for years and years to come.

This proposal before us to-day, if it is successful, is the beginning of a systematic scheme to rob all the people for the benefit of a few, and if it is rushed through under the party lash in the closing hours of Congress, I

predict that the people, from one end of the land to the other, will denounce it in unmeasured terms and never rest content until it is repealed.

The American people are unalterably opposed to a ship-subsidy raid on the Treasury. A subsidy is a bounty, a bonus, a gratuity, and it never has succeeded, and it never will succeed, in accomplishing the purpose desired. All history proves it conclusively. Wherever and whenever it has been tried it has failed. In my opinion, if a subsidy bill should pass it would not restore our American merchant marine or aid our shipbuilding industries. It is a waste of time to talk about ship subsidies, and I believe every honest American is opposed to them. We might just as well pass a bill to pay a subsidy to every man who grows a bushel of wheat or raises a bale of cotton as to pay a subsidy to the man who sails a ship.

MR. SULZER THE CHAMPION OF OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

HE IS THE AUTHOR OF THE BILL IN CONGRESS TO REVIVE THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE BY PREFERENTIAL DUTIES—THE POLICY OF THE FATHERS.

Speaking in favor of this Bill, Mr. Sulzer said on January 26, 1910:

Mr. Speaker: We all realize that there is a sentiment, growing stronger and stronger every day, throughout the country, in favor of doing something to rehabilitate our merchant marine. This is patriotic, eminently proper, and should be encouraged by every true American.

It is unfortunate, however, that many well-meaning citizens, who desire to see our ocean carrying trade restored to our own merchant marine, have little knowledge of the best and the easiest way to do it, or of the causes which gradually drove our shipping from the high seas and placed us finally at the bottom of the list of the world's maritime powers.

There is no man in this country more anxious and more willing to enact proper legislation to restore the American merchant marine than myself, but I want to do it honestly; I want to do it along constitutional lines; and I want to do it in harmony with that fundamental principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

It is a fact—a most deplorable fact—and every man who has investigated the subject knows it, that we have less registered tonnage for deep-sea carrying trade today than we had one hundred years ago. In 1812, the United States, with a population of less than ten million, owned more registered tonnage for ocean-carrying trade

than the United States in 1912, with a population of over ninety million.

The American deep-sea tonnage in 1812 was over 1,200,000, and it is now less than 800,000; and, what is worse still, it showed an actual decrease of more than 6,000 tons last year. In 1812 American ships, flying the American flag and manned by American sailors, carried over 90 per cent. of our deep-sea trade, and a great part of that of all the countries of Europe. To-day we carry very little of our own trade and practically none of other countries, notwithstanding the fact that we should be the foremost maritime power in the world.

It is a sad commentary on our growth and greatness that more than nine-tenths of our once great and powerful deep-sea fleet has vanished, and not one new keel for an ocean-going merchant ship is being laid to-day on either our Atlantic or Pacific coast; while the vessels of foreign nations throng our ports and monopolize more than nine-tenths of all our import and export commerce.

The question of the hour is, how shall we restore the American merchant marine? What shall we do to place our flag again on every sea? What policy shall we adopt to regain our ocean-carrying trade and revive our shipbuilding industry? There are several policies proposed by those who desire to restore the American flag to the high seas and to secure for our country its proper share of the world's ocean commerce; and, briefly enumerated, they are as follows:

First—Ship subsidies.
Second—Free ships.
Third—Preferential duties.

Let us briefly discuss these proposed remedies in their order. I shall state, as succinctly as I can, without prejudice, the merits and the demerits of each proposition; and I shall do so from a patriotic and not from a political point of view, because, in my judgment, the restoration of our merchant marine is purely an economic question based on patriotism, and rises superior to partisan consideration.

Let us come, then, to the first proposition, to wit, ship

subsidies. In the light of the past, I think we can safely say that the American people are unalterably opposed to a ship-subsidy raid on the Treasury. A subsidy is a bounty, a bonus, a gratuity, and it never has succeeded, and it never will succeed, in accomplishing the purpose desired. All history proves it conclusively. Wherever and whenever it has been tried, it has failed. In my opinion, if a subsidy bill should pass, it would not restore our American merchant marine or aid our shipbuilding industries.

And now let us discuss the second remedy, to wit, free ships, by which I mean the right of an American citizen to build or buy a ship anywhere, give it the benefit of the American registry laws, and place upon it the American flag. To bring this about, all that it is necessary to do is to repeal the prohibitive law, which is a blot on our common sense and a disgrace to our maritime intelligence; but this can never be done while the believers in protection for the sake of protection can prevent it.

This policy of free ships has been advocated for years by many able and patriotic men who thoroughly understand this shipping question and deplore the loss we are sustaining every year by reason of the elimination of our merchant marine.

What a spectacle is presented, when we realize that by virtue of our existing navigation laws the American who builds or buys a ship in a foreign country is an outlaw—prevented from giving the vessel American registration and compelled to sail the ship under the protection of a foreign flag.

Now let us take up the third proposition, namely, preferential duties in favor of American-built ships and against ships flying the flag of a foreign country. This was the policy so successfully in operation in this country up to 1828, when, to please foreign interests, the law was suspended, and from that day to this our prestige on the high seas has been declining, until it is less to-day than it was a century ago.

The true friends of our merchant marine confidently assert that if this preferential policy of the fathers was restored, it would revive our overseas carrying trade,

and in a very few years build up our ship industries so that we would again secure our share of the ocean commerce of the world and save millions and millions of dollars that we pay annually to foreign ship owners. In reading the report of the Merchant Marine Commission, I observe that several of the largest shipbuilders testified that they formerly believed in subsidies, but had changed their opinions and now advocated preferential duties. The difference between a subsidy and preferential duties is about this: We must pay the subsidy; the foreign shipowner pays the preferential duties.

There seems to be but one objection, so far as I can learn, to a return to preferential duties; and this objection comes from the advocates of ship subsidies, who declare that we have commercial treaties with foreign governments containing the favored-nation clause, and, in order to inaugurate the policy of preferential duties, it will be necessary to change our commercial treaties, and this cannot be done without giving these favored nations one year's notice.

This objection, however, is more apparent than real; for there is no doubt the change could be made if this government wanted to make it, and a year's notice to bring it about would cause no great delay, especially when we consider that nothing has been done for our deep-sea shipping in more than a quarter of a century.

If we desire to change our commercial treaties with these favored nations, we have a perfect right to do so, and no nation can object. If there be retaliation, two can play at the same game, and our trade is more important to other nations than their trade is to our country. As I have said, many citizens and several distinguished members of Congress who have given this subject much thought and consideration believe that preferential duties will effectually solve the problem in the most feasible and practical way.

It is my candid opinion—and I have no hesitancy in saying so—that, if we had continued the policy of the fathers and not suspended our early preferential duty laws, we would to-day be the greatest maritime nation in the world and our flag would be on every sea and our

ships would be carrying the commerce not alone of our own country, but perhaps half of that of all the other great nations of the world.

For years, in Congress and out of Congress, I have been advocating honest and intelligent legislation to restore our merchant marine; and for years the men in control of Congress have turned to my appeals a deaf ear.

In this Congress I have again introduced my bill for preferential duties. It is a short bill, and reads as follows:

"That a reduction of five per centum ad valorem of the customs duties now or hereafter imposed by law shall be allowed on all goods, wares, or merchandise imported into the United States in vessels of the United States."

That means this: that all goods, wares, and merchandise coming into the United States in American ships shall pay five cents on the dollar less than goods, wares, and merchandise coming into the United States in foreign ships. What shipowner wants a greater advantage than that? This preferential duty is far superior, as a permanent remedy, to any ship subsidy. Let me tell you that a foreign ship came into New York from Brazil several months ago, that had aboard a cargo valued at $19,000,000. It was rubber, and rubber does not pay one cent of duty. Suppose that cargo had to pay a duty of five per cent. on $19,000,000 if it came in a foreign-built ship, and not a dollar if it came in an American-built ship. There is enough money to build a ship on one trip; and do not you suppose that men who have money and are looking for investment would be investing their money in American ships if there was a preferential duty law like this on the statute books? Of course they would.

You cannot get men with money to-day to invest in American ships, because they say it does not pay, and men will not invest money in any business that does not pay. Give our shipbuilding industries of this country an

opportunity to interest idle money, and it will become immediately interested, and every one of our shipyards will be working overtime and there will be new shipsyards built in every part of the United States where you can conveniently build a shipyard. That is the object of my bill, and I have discussed it with a great many men and have never yet heard a man say anything conclusive against its patriotism, against its policy, or against its effect.

I think that provision of the bill is clear to every one here who understands our tariff laws and our shipping laws. In other words, this provision gives American ships a preferential duty over foreign ships of five per cent—five cents on the dollar—on all goods, wares, and merchandise brought into the United States. That is so great a preferential advantage that it would immediately compel importers to bring their products into this country in American ships. They would immediately begin to invest money in shipyards and build ships, so that they could bring in their goods in American ships and save five per cent. The American shipowners would, of course, be able to charge more freight than the foreign shipowners, and the American importer would be compelled to patronize the American ship to save freight charges.

But I go further in my bill and say:

"And in cases where no customs duties are imposed by law on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of two per centum ad valorem if such goods, wares or merchandise are imported in vessels not of the United States."

We have a tremendous free list, and it is getting larger all the time, and by reason of this circumstance Congress, in order to raise enough money to administer the affairs of the government, has to increase taxes on goods on the dutiable list.

No merchant bringing tea from the Orient, no merchant bringing rubber and coffee and cocoa from South

America—all of which are on the free list—would bring those goods in foreign bottoms and pay a tax of two cents on a dollar, when he could bring them into this country in American ships free.

[*Reading:*]

"The said reduction of five per centum in duty herein provided for shall not apply to goods, wares and merchandise not of the growth, production, or manufacture of countries contiguous to or bordering upon the territory of the United States, when imported into the United States by land transportation or land vehicles or conveyances through or from ports or other places of countries bordering upon the United States, if the same shall have been brought to such ports in vessels not of the United States; in cases where no customs duties are imposed by law on such goods, wares and merchandise so imported, a duty of two per centum ad valorem shall be levied, collected, and paid. Said reduction of five per centum in duty shall not apply in cases where goods, wares, or merchandise are trans-shipped or transferred from a foreign vessel, port, or place to a vessel of the United States for the purpose of evading the provisions of this Act, and in such cases no exemption from duty shall be granted."

But I go still further:

"SEC. 2. That the master, agent or owner of any registered vessel of the United States shall be exempt from the tax of four dollars for every alien entering the United States on such vessel prescribed by section one of the Act of February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, entitled 'An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States.'"

You know that these great trans-Atlantic ships bring a million immigrants to the United States every year, and they have to pay to the government of the United State a head tax of $4 on every one. That is $4,000,000. That would nearly all go to the American ship owner.

Here is a great discrimination in favor of American ships and against foreign-built ships, that will help put American ships upon the high seas.

[*Reading:*]

"SEC. 3. That the President shall have power, and it shall be his duty, to give notice, within ten days after the passage of this Act, to all foreign countries with which commercial agreements have been entered into making any provision or provisions which are in conflict with sections one or two of this Act, of the intention of the United States to terminate such agreement at a time specified in said notice, which time shall in no case be longer than the period of time specified in such agreements, respectively, for notice for their termination: *Provided*, That until the expiration of the period when the notice of intention to terminate hereinbefore provided for shall have become effective, or until such date prior thereto as the high contracting parties may by mutual consent select, the terms of said commercial agreement shall remain in force.

"SEC. 4. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed, and that, except as provided in the first and second sections hereof, this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

This is the bill, and it is a simple measure. Why should we not adopt it?

So I say to the champions of subsidies, which at best are only a temporary relief, that we never can help our shipbuilding industries and restore our merchant marine unless we adopt the policy of free ships, or discriminate in some way in favor of our own ships and against foreign ships. The fact is, that we discriminate now, by law, against our own ships in favor of foreign ships. My plan is simply to reverse the situation. I sincerely believe that if my bill for preferential duties were enacted into law, the United States, in a few years, would become the mistress of the seas, and American ships, built in our own shipyards, would do all our own ocean

commerce, besides a great part of the deep-sea carrying trade of the other countries of the world, without taking a dollar out of the pockets of the taxpayers of our country.

My friends, let me say, in conclusion, that the policy I propose is not a makeshift. It is not new—having been the law of our country from 1792 to 1828, when it was suspended, and that suspension was one of the greatest political blunders in all our history. It is not a temporary expedient. It is permanent. It has been tried and not found wanting. It is the easiest way to restore the American merchant marine. Adopted again as our policy and upon the statute books, it will never be repealed or suspended, but will speedily restore our ocean-carrying trade; revive our shipbuilding industries; give employment in our shipyards to thousands and thousands of men in all parts of the country; bring about an era of prosperity such as we have never known before in our shipping trade and deep-sea commerce; place our flag on every sea and in every port; and make our seamen what they were in the historic days of the Republic—the pride of America and the masters of the ocean highways of the world.

MR. SULZER FAVORS THE REPUBLIC—AGAINST EMPIRE.

On February 23, 1900, Mr. Sulzer said in Congress:

Mr. Speaker: In the contest which is now on between the Republic and the empire, I take my stand with the people against empire and in favor of the perpetuity of the Republic. Ours is the great republic, the beacon light of the world, the refuge of the oppressed of every clime, the home for the downtrodden of every land, and it is the imperative duty of those who are here and enjoying the inestimable blessings of our free institutions to see to it that the Government of Jefferson, of Jackson and of Lincoln does not perish from the earth.

MR. SULZER PAYS A TRIBUTE TO THE VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.

From Speech on the Volunteers in House of Representatives, April 7, 1898.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: I believe in the citizen soldiery of our land. I take a deep interest in their welfare, and in so far as I can I shall always maintain their rights. The history of our country in time of war demonstrates that there are no better soldiers. They are brave, patriotic and intelligent. They come from the professions, from the workshops, from the counting rooms, from the mills, from the mines, and from the fields. There are no better fighters than those who come from the volunteer forces of the people.

The volunteers constitute the great patriotic army of our country. They are no hirelings, no mercenaries; they fight for the defense of home and country, for liberty and freedom. In time of peace, they follow their usual trades, professions and occupations. They do not menace our liberties or the stability of our free institutions. In time of war they constitute an army of intelligent, well-drilled soldiers as large as any army in the world. In a republic like ours a great standing army in time of peace is useless and expensive. In time of trouble we must rely upon the volunteer forces of the country.

MR. SULZER SPEAKS FOR REAL ECONOMY.

Speech in the House of Representatives, June 25, 1910.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: We hear much about ecenomy; but it is the pound-foolish and the penny-wise economy that sounds well and means little. All I desire to say now is that I am in favor of real economy, real retrenchment, and real reform. I denounce, however, that false economy that dismisses the faithful clerks from the departments, after long years of efficient service, to save a few dollars; that bogus economy that deprives the poor pensioner of his rights to save a few dollars; that pretended economy that breaks the promise to the veteran soldier and withholds the money long due the men who saved the Union. That is sham economy, and there is nothing to it but hollow pretense. It fools none but the unthinking. I am not in favor of that kind of economy—away with it, I say.

Where are the friends of real economy when it comes to a question of cutting down the great appropriation bills, carrying millions and millions of dollars? Where are the watchdogs of the Treasury when all rules are suspended and the "powers that be" in Congress rush through the rivers and harbors bills, and the public buildings bills, appropriating hundreds of millions of dollars?

The echo answers "Where?" Here is where I am in favor of economizing. Then it is that I am in favor of using the pruning knife. Let it be understood that those who are responsible here for these great appropriation bills have not practiced what they preached, have not practiced the economy that they could have practised, and yet they are continually harping upon the necessity of economizing, and delight to begin on the poor and the

needy. I would like to see them economize a little on the big matters. Out, I say, on false economy and transparent hypocrisy!

Just a few words more on the extravagance of this session of Congress. Its record for wasting the money of the people will eclipse any session of Congress in the history of the country. To talk about economy now in the face of this plundering record is an insult to the taxpayers and a libel on the word "economy." Let us see what the figures show—millions and millions of dollars more than ever before—a billion dollar session and then millions and millions more with a vengeance. The figures show that the session of Congress just closing has broken all records in the history of the Republic in the amount of money appropriated and authorized to be expended. It has no parallel. The total amount of the appropriations and authorizations as calculated approximate $1,054,086,941. This exceeds by about $10,000,000 the total of the appropriations and authorizations made at the last regular session of Congress. The amount of the appropriations in the last regular session was, in round numbers, $1,044,000,000. When is it going to stop? Where is the economy that was talked about all session? That is what the taxpayers would like to know. Is it any wonder the people demand a change?

The SPEAKER: The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. SULZER: Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the *Record* in connection with my remarks, a letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a comparative statement of figures.

The SPEAKER: Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The letter and statement are as follows:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
"*Washington, June* 14, 1910.

"Hon. WILLIAM SULZER,
"*House of Representatives.*

"SIR: In reply to your communication of recent date, requesting a statement showing the comparative annual

cost of the Government under the administrations of Presidents Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, I have the honor to inclose herewith a statement of the ordinary disbursements, including the Panama Canal, for the period, by years, beginning March 1.

"The disbursements on account of the canal to May 31, 1910, include $87,309,594.83 from proceeds of bonds and premium, and $114,082,908.73 paid from the general cash in the Treasury.

"The ordinary disbursements include grants from the Treasury for deficiencies in postal revenues, but do not include expenditures for the postal service from postal revenues under control of the Postmaster General.

"Respectfully,

"A. PIATT ANDREW,

"Assistant Secretary."

Statement of disbursements by annual periods from March 1, 1893, to May 31, 1910.

	Ordinary disbursements.	Panama Canal.	Disbursements, including canal.
President Cleveland:			
March 1, 1893, to March 1, 1894	$371,269,576.28		$371,269,576.28
March 1, 1894, to March 1, 1895	366,650,441.79		366,650,441.79
March 1, 1895, to March 1, 1896	351,094,307.53		351,094,307.53
March 1, 1896, to March 1, 1897	364,559,067.55		364,559,067.55
	1,453,573,393.15		1,453,573,393.15
President McKinley:			
March 1, 1897, to March 1, 1898	381,883,198.27		381,883,198.27
March 1, 1898, to March 1, 1899	596,415,625.64		596,415,625.64
March 1, 1899, to March 1, 1900	521,476,500.85		521,476,500.85
March 1, 1900, to March 1, 1901	498,996,295.21		498,996,295.21
	1,998,771,619.97		1,998,771,619.97
President McKinley to September, 1901; President Roosevelt from September, 1901:			
March 1, 1901, to March 1, 1902	477,650,220.17		477,650,220.17
March 1, 1902, to March 1, 1903	495,740,162.83	$3,985.00	495,744,147.83
March 1, 1903, to March 1, 1904	522,222,790.37	15,000.00	522,237,790.37
March 1, 1904 to March 1, 1905	561,060,082.12	51,841,946.73	612,902,028.85
	2,056,673,255.49	51,860,931.73	2,108,534,187.22
President Roosevelt:			
March 1, 1905, to March 1, 1906	$556,980,404.88	$13,560,073.89	$570,540,478.77
March 1, 1906, to March 1, 1907	546,842,526.13	23,839,099.23	570,681,625.36
March 1, 1907, to March 1, 1908	587,014,697.89	37,462,954.67	624,477,652.56
March 1, 1908, to March 1, 1909	659,337,545.28	31,776,485.93	691,114,031.21
	2,350,175,174.18	106,638,613.72	2,456,813,787.90
President Taft:			
March 1, 1909, to March 1, 1910	660,206,614.41	33,868,582.18	694,075,196.59
March 1, 1910, to May 31, 1910	153,584,035.60	9,024,375.93	162,608,411.53
	813,790,650.01	42,892,958.11	856,683,608.12

NOTE.—This statement is exclusive of transactions in the public debt and of expenditures for the postal service paid from postal revenues.

MR. SULZER THE CONSISTENT ADVOCATE OF THE INCOME TAX.

Justice to all Demands the Ratification of the Income-Tax Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

SPEECH OF MR. SULZER, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 8, 1910.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. Speaker: For many years I have been the earnest advocate and the consistent champion of the imposition of a federal income tax, because it is the most equitable system of taxation to all concerned that can, to my mind, be devised, compelling wealth, as well as toil, to pay its just share of the burdens of government.

As a citizen of the State of New York I had indulged the hope that the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution passed in the last session of Congress would meet with the approval of Governor Hughes and be ratified this year by the legislature of the Empire State.

Contrary to my expectations, however, and doubtless much to the disappointment of many of the sincere friends of the governor, the latter, in his recent message to the legislature declares in specific terms against the ratification by the legislature of the income-tax amendment and urges its defeat.

I regret exceedingly that the Governor has lent his great influence, with a studied calculation, to the side of political reaction, and thrown the weight of his great office, regardless of popular opinion, to the support of selfish privilege.

The issue is a momentous one, and the people must decide. For years they have demanded an income tax, and justice to all commanded that it should be written

on the federal statute books so that the burdens of government should be more equitably adjusted and the unprotected weak and the overladened poor, to some extent, relieved of unjust discriminations in taxation.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in this connection I send to the Clerk's desk and desire to have read in my time a very able editorial on the subject from the New York *World*.

The Clerk read as follows:

SULZER TO GOVERNOR HUGHES ON THE INCOME TAX.

(*From editorial in New York World, Thursday, January 6, 1910.*)

"Governor Hughes has furnished to the opponents of the income-tax amendment the one thing they have been seeking—a plausible argument from a highly respectable source.

"The governor's objection to the amendment as submitted to the several state legislatures for ratification hinges upon the four words, 'from whatever source derived.' In his opinion this would permit Congress to tax the income from state and city bonds; and 'to place the borrowing capacity of the State and its governmental agencies at the mercy of the federal taxing power would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State which as its officers we are bound to defend.' Or, as the governor says elsewhere in his message, 'to permit such securities to be the subject of federal taxation is to place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of federal grace.'

"With all respect to Governor Hughes, the *World* regards his fears as more imaginary than real. Assuming even that this amendment would confer upon Congress power to tax the income from state and city bonds, which is by no means certain, it is unlikely that Congress would try to exercise that power. Ever since the adoption of the Constitution Congress has had the power to levy direct taxes if it pleases, subject only to the restriction that they be apportioned among the several States according to population. As a matter of public policy, however, it has never exercised this power.

"The effect of popular sentiment upon the taxing powers of Congress is stated with exceptional force by Justice Harlan in his dissenting opinion in the income-tax case, which Governor Hughes quotes in his message: 'Any attempt on the part of Congress to apportion among the States, upon the basis simply of their population, taxation of personal property or of incomes would tend to arouse such indignation among the freemen of America that it would never be repeated.' In other words, the taxing power of Congress has to be exercised in accordance with the sentiment of the American people.

"Members of Congress are citizens of States and residents of counties. They live in cities or villages or townships, as the case may be, and most of these agencies of local government issue bonds for one purpose or another. It is hardly probable that Congressmen would pass a federal-tax law impairing the value of the public securities of the communities in which they live and for the redemption of which their own property is a pledge. But even if they did, we can assure Governor Hughes that local self-government will not perish from the earth or become 'a matter of federal grace.'

"The British Government, we believe, taxes the income from its own consols, yet government in Great Britain still lives. Congress recently levied an excise tax upon the net income of all corporations doing business in the United States. If the governor's process of reasoning is correct, all these corporations will exist as 'a matter of federal grace.' When the stamp taxes were in force during the Spanish-American war Mr. Charles E. Hughes must have drawn checks against his personal bank account as 'a matter of federal grace.'

"All that a federal tax on the income from city and state bonds could mean is that a slight increase might have to be made in the rate of interest, as the holders of these securities would lose some of their special privileges. If this is to be resisted as an invasion of state rights, then the Government must concede that state rights are vastly more sacred than individual rights, for no such immunity is accorded to the individual in his tax relations with the Federal Government.

"It taxes the blanket he is wrapped up in when he is born. It taxes the lumber in the roof that covers his head. It taxes the food that he eats, the clothes that he wears, the coffin in which he is buried, and the humble gravestone that bids him rest in peace with the hope of a glorious resurrection. All this, however, is not an invasion of state rights, and hence the governor refuses to worry about it.

"The *World* does not impeach Governor Hughes's sincerity. His declaration in favor of conferring upon Congress great power to levy an income tax is clear and unequivocal. His objections are all directed against the form of the proposed amendments; but as this amendment is the only specific income-tax question before the country, the governor for all present practical purposes might as well have declared himself against an income tax in any form.

"Regardless of the distinction he makes, Governor Hughes's message will be hailed with delight by all the interests that oppose an income tax. They will promptly fall in behind the governor of New York to safeguard the precious principle of state rights. Wall Street is always for state rights when there is any money in it, and always believes in a strong central government when the balance of profit swings in that direction. It will turn Governor Hughes's message, his arguments, his influence, and his great reputation to its own account in every state capital in which there is a chance to prevent the ratification of the amendment.

"If this amendment to the Constitution of the United States is defeated, a larger measure of responsibility will rest upon Charles E. Hughes than upon any one citizen of the country—a fact to which the governor doubtless gave careful and conscientious consideration before he sent his message to the New York legislature.

Mr. SULZER: Mr. Speaker, that timely and eloquent and impartial editorial sums up the whole situation, and appealed to me so strongly that I immediately wrote a letter commending it to the New York *World*, which is published on its editorial page this morning, and which

I now send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read in my time as part of my remarks.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN REPLY TO GOVERNOR HUGHES—REPRESENTATIVE SULZER SAYS THE GOVERNOR'S OBJECTIONS TO THE INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT ARE WEAK AND UNTENABLE—LET THE LEGISLATURE RATIFY IT.

"To the Editor of the World:

"The splendid editorial in the *World* this morning in favor of the ratification of the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution by the New York legislature rings true, and I hope it will be read by every taxpayer in the State of New York.

"The criticisms of Governor Hughes in his message to the legislature are weak and untenable. It is apparent the governor mistakes public sentiment in the Empire State and has a very poor opinion of the ability of Congress to enact an income-tax law that will be eminently fair and just. The governor's message against the income tax is a blunder that must grieve his most earnest friends.

"Years ago Joseph Pulitzer proclaimed the equity of an income tax. His ringing editorials, in season and out of season, made me an earnest student of the subject, and after careful study and consideration committed me to the proposition that an income tax is the fairest, the most honest, the most democratic, and the most equitable tax ever devised by the genius of man. Ever since I came to Congress the *Record* will show that I have been the constant advocate of an income tax along constitutional lines. It is the only way to tax wealth as well as work.

"At the present time nearly all of the taxes raised for the support of the Government are levied on consumption, through the agency of unjust and discriminating tariff taxes—on what the people need to eat and to wear and to live—the necessaries of life—and the consequence is that the poor man, indirectly but surely in the end, pays practically as much to support the Government as

the rich man, regardless of the difference of incomes. This system of levying all the taxes on consumption so that the consumers are saddled with all the burdens of government is an unjust system of taxation, and the only way to remedy the injustice and destroy the inequality is by a graduated system of income taxes that will make idle wealth as well as honest toil pay its just share of the money needed to administer the National Government.

"Joseph Pulitzer never made a more honest and a better fight for the people of his country than the fight for the income tax. All honor to him and all credit to the *World*. I am with you in this fight, and sooner or later it must prevail, because it is right.

"In this connection, let me say that every great thinker, every honest jurist, every just statesman, and every intelligent writer on political economy, from the days of Aristotle down to the present time, has advocated and justified the imposition of an income tax for the support of government as the most honest, the most equitable, and the most expeditious system of taxation that can be devised. It must come in this country. It should have been adopted long ago. Almost every great government on earth secures a large part of its revenue from an income tax, and the United States must do the same. We are far behind the governments of Europe in this respect—far behind enlightened public opinion throughout the world.

"When the income-tax amendment passed Congress I spoke in favor of it, as the *Record* will show, but I had my doubts as to the sincerity of its eleventh-hour Republican friends. I predicted then that they passed it to placate the people and justify to some extent the iniquities of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, and that ultimately it would be found that many of the Republicans who urged the passage of the income-tax amendment in Congress would be opposing its ratification in the legislatures of the States. On July 12, 1909, I said on the floor of the House of Representatives:

"'I am not going to give the Republicans credit for good faith in passing this resolution to amend the Con-

stitution to provide for an income tax until I see how their representatives vote on it in the legislatures of Republican States. Mark what I say now: When this resolution passes, the wealth and the interests and the Republican leaders of the country opposed to an income tax will soon get together and urge its rejection by the legislatures of the States. If these obnoxious interests to the welfare of the people can get 12 legislatures to prevent its ratification, the income-tax amendment will fail to secure the necessary approval of three-fourths of the States of the Union and will never be adopted as a part of the Constitution.'

"I am not a prophet, but I knew what I was talking about. My prediction is coming true.

"Governor Hughes is wrong on the income-tax proposition, and I regret it exceedingly. His message on the subject-matter is specious and a sad disappointment. I hope, however, that the *World* and other papers that have the best interests of the people of the whole country at heart will urge upon the members of the New York legislature the justice and the importance and the advisability of voting in favor of the ratification of the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution. If this amendment is beaten in the legislature of the State of New York, it will be an outrage against the toilers of our land, an injustice to the consumers of our country, and a crime against struggling humanity.

"WILLIAM SULZER, M. C.,
"Tenth District, New York.

"WASHINGTON, *January 6.*"

Mr. SULZER: Mr. Speaker, my letter speaks for itself and shows my position on this momentous question. In the future, as in the past, I shall do all in my power in Congress and out of Congress to secure the ratification of the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution, so that it shall become a part of the supreme law of the land.

The question now, however, before the people of the country, and especially the members of the legislatures of the different States, is not whether Congress shall

levy an income tax; or the kind of an income it shall ultimately write on the national law books, but the question at present is simply this: Shall the Congress of the United States have the constitutional right to impose an income tax, or forever be cut off from this source of revenue no matter what the exigencies of the times in war or in peace may demand?

The people *en masse* throughout the land speak in thunder tones, and furnish cumulative proofs mountain high, in favor of the ratification of the income-tax amendment. In the Empire State Governor Hughes has failed us. Will the members of the legislature of the State of New York prove recreant to their duty? We shall see; but lest they forget, let the people of grand old New York now speak out, and every friend of justice and equality and humanity do his duty.

MR. SULZER'S TRIBUTE TO THE BOERS.

In Congress May 7, 1900, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. SULZER: Mr. Speaker, the measure now before the House is in the interest of the soldiers of the Union, and I am in favor of it and shall vote for the bill. I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of the men who saved the Union, and I shall always favor the most liberal pension legislation in the interest of our heroic soldiers, their widows, and their orphans. I would make the pension roll a roll of honor to the friends of liberty and the brave defenders of our national existence. All glory, I say, to the brave men who fought for freedom in the dark hours from 1861 to 1865.

And, sir, in this connection I want to say all honor and all glory to the brave men who are now fighting for liberty and free institutions on the veldts of South Africa. I want to say a few words in favor of the Boers. I want the liberty-loving people of this country to know why official America refuses to sympathize with them in their struggle to maintain their independence. The Republicans stand up here and talk of freedom, and about patriotism, but they dare not pass my resolution through this House extending sympathy to the liberty-loving and patriotic Boers of South Africa. Official America sneezes when Downing Street takes snuff. Republicans, I dare you to permit this resolution in favor of the Boers to come to a vote.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH IN CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 6, 1906, IN FAVOR OF THE RAILROAD RATE BILL AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF INTERSTATE COMMON CARRIERS.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: In my opinion, this matter of just and reasonable railroad rates and the governmental regulation of transportation companies doing an interstate-commerce business is one of the most important questions now before the American people. It is a live question, and no matter what we do now, or say now, you know and I know that it is here to stay until it is settled and settled right; and the problem never will be solved, and the issue will never down, until it is solved and settled for the best interest of all the people, and not in the interest of the selfish few.

I have given much careful study to this great subject. I know something about it. As a legislator trying my best to do my duty as I see it to all the people, I have given, and will continue to give, my very best efforts to help in the solution of the many problems we are called upon in these matters to determine, and they should be solved and determined by us in a spirit of fairness and equality and equity to all concerned. The highways of commerce, the avenues of industry, the byways of trade must be open to all; and every shipper and every producer must be treated exactly alike—no midnight tariffs, no rebates, no discriminations, and no favoritism. Equal rights to all and special privileges to none must be our watchword.

Now, sir, we all realize, I believe, that the great interstate-transportation agencies of our country are here to stay. They are essential to the business of the country.

They can not be dispensed with nor destroyed. They are as fixed in our commercial life as the hours of the day, and as immutable in our industrial existence as the medium of exchange. Their mileage, and their equipment, and their wealth, and their power, and their influence will not diminish, but will increase more and more as the years come and go. They will continue to dominate the people if the people do not take action to regulate them. The people of the country are aroused on this question. They will keep up the fight until it is won. You can beat the people to-day, you can deceive the people to-morrow, but the contest between right and wrong will go on, and sooner or later the people will win. I am with the people in this fight. It is either Government regulation now, or Government ownership hereafter—take your choice.

I read not long ago that more than 80 per cent. of the enormous railroad mileage which to-day gridirons the United States has been constructed since the civil war. We have over 215,000 miles of main railroad tracks, and the giant spider is still spreading its web of steel in every and all directions. And when we take into consideration the second, third, and fourth tracks, the sidings and terminals, the total foots up to nearly 300,000 miles of steel railroad tracks. Just think of that! Sufficient to go twelve times around the earth, or make a journey to the moon, if such a thing were possible, and have miles and miles to spare. We are indeed the greatest railroad country on earth, and will continue to be for a century to come. And if we pause to consider these marvelous figures and facts we must be impressed with the consciousness of the far-reaching power and effect of the railway influence in every line of human industry, and if we stop to analyze the volume of traffic handled we can not fail to realize how greatly the railway systems of our country enter into every phase of modern life.

In 1894 the railroads carried 638,000,000 tons of freight. In 1904 the figures more than doubled and reached the enormous total of 1,309,000,000 tons, with aggregate traffic earnings amounting to the enormous

total of $1,977,638,713. Last year they did a largely increased business, and the figures for 1906 will greatly exceed those of last year. In 1895 the records show that 527,421,000 passengers were carried; in 1904 the figures increased to 715,419,000, and when the reports for last year are at hand a much larger increase will be evident. The figures are bewildering and the facts as startling as they are astonishing; and the end is not yet.

To transport this vast number of passengers and gigantic amount of freight, including all varieties of foodstuffs, there were ultilized 47,000 engines, 40,000 passenger cars, and 1,760,000 freight cars. In the operation of this great network of railways more than 1,250,000 men are directly employed, of which 52,000 are engine drivers, 55,000 firemen, 40,000 conductors, and 106,000 trainmen.

Of course, I know figures are usually uninteresting; but these figures are alive with human interest and full of flesh and blood activity, because they have to do not only with men and measures, but also with our national commercial life and our fundamental, political and industrial institutions, which should safeguard the interests of all the people—but more often do not—and the home life, and the very existence of every man who works for a livelihood and earns his bread in the sweat of his face.

The rapid growth of our interstate common-carrier systems during the past quarter of a century has been simply marvelous, and the tremendous power they wield to-day in the intimate political and social and economic life of the country is truly inconceivable. The average man who rides on a railroad train in comfort and in luxury to a distant point has little conception of how the railway affects even the most intimate details of his existence. It is the power that dictates political conventions and makes nominations; that seats its well-paid lawyers in the courts of justice; that rules legislatures; that subsidizes the press; that dominates the National Congress, and that compels all of us, who must eat to maintain life, to pay the price for food which the big transportation interests fix directly or indirectly.

From a systematic investigation of existing conditions

and a careful examination of governmental statistics, I fearlessly assert that the time is now at hand when the Government must take decisive action to regulate the great public transportation companies of the country doing an interstate-commerce business, or they will ere long absolutely own and control the Government, and, through their great tentacles stretching out in every direction, they will be able to strangle competition, crush commercial endeavor, and paralyze individual industrialism.

These giant public utility companies, traversing as they do every part of our national domain, are so vital a part of our complex industrial and economical life that their influence affects all things which go to make up our existence from day to day. I believe the people are just awakening to the consciousness of the real facts and the true situation, and in the study of the problem of the cost of living are finding out for themselves what recent economic writers have shown conclusively, and that is how the control and the power and the operation of railroads in this country overshadow every other factor of human existence.

I am with the people in this railroad fight for justice. I have great personal regard for the distinguished chairman of the committee reporting this bill, but I would be false to myself and to this great cause if I did not honestly say that I believe that he and all the members of the committee could have presented to this House, under all the circumstances, a very much better bill, and I trust I will be pardoned if I am impelled by my sense of duty, and my conception of the gravity of the situation, and the importance of the subject-matter, to point out in the kindliest way some of the serious defects, some of the glaring errors, and what I consider after all the vital weakness of the pending measure.

Everyone familiar with the subject is aware of the fact that for years there have been secret rebates and unlawful discriminations by railroad companies and other transportation corporations to favored shippers. These discriminations and these favoritisms are criminal and must be stopped, and if the laws on the statute books now

are not strong enough to put a stop to them, then we must make new laws rigid enough to put an end to them in this country forever. Whether this bill will stop them or not I do not now undertake to say, but I do hope that the bill will be materially amended ere it becomes a law, with the object of more effectually stopping them. I know of no greater injustice to the producers of our country than to have a transportation company give a rebate to one shipper at the expense of all the others. There should be no favoritism; the rate should be the same for all shippers and for all producers; equal rates, equal rights, and equal opportunities for all should be the rule. But we know the history of the past, and we do know of many cases where one shipper has been favored at the expense of all the other shippers until the favored shipper controlled the product or the industry, drove out of business every competitor, and ultimately secured a complete monopoly.

If you will read the testimony which has been adduced in several investigations heretofore held at the instance of the Government you will readily comprehend the truth of this proposition. But I do not care at this time to go into details or to be too critical. I am an optimist. I hope for the best; and I trust the bill will be amended, become a law, and accomplish some good. I shall do my best to improve the bill by amendments, if they will be permitted; but I can not refrain now from telling what I actually believe and to voice my convictions and say that the bill in its present shape is not satisfactory to the real friends of Federal regulation. It is a good deal of a makeshift.

It is apparent to me that if this bill were intended to compel the railroads to live up to the law now on the statute books, if it were a bill to force the transportation companies to give fair and just and reasonable rates to every producer and to every shipper, you would find these halls filled with railroad lawyers and lobbyists protesting against the passage of the bill; and I am frank to say that the bill would not meet with so very little opposition. But I have not heard of a railroad protesting against the passage of this bill. I have not seen nor

heard of a single railroad lawyer who has been sent here to argue against the progress of the bill; and so, as I say, I am inclined to be doubtful as to the effectiveness of the remedy proposed in the pending measure.

Mr. GROSVENOR: Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN: Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. SULZER: Yes; I always yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSVENOR: Would the gentleman from New York know a lobbyist when he saw one?

Mr. SULZER: Well, that depends. I do not pretend to be familiar with lobbyists; but I know a few railroad lawyers when I see them. I have been a practitioner of the law for a number of years, but I have never been retained by any of the great interstate-commerce railroads. I have been retained, however, now and then by a few sensible clients to institute suits against railroads, and my clients will inform those desirous of knowledge concerning the matter that I have generally succeeded in securing for them a speedy trial, justice, and a square deal. As a legislator my sympathies have always been with the under dog, with the poor and the oppressed, with the toiler and the breadwinner; and whenever an injustice was committed by some powerful corporation against the weak and the helpless I have been on the latter's side; and as a lawyer my field of professional endeavor has been along the lines of helping the poor and the distressed; and I suppose I am so constituted that I will continue to do so all the rest of my life, to the loss no doubt of my bank account, but with the approval of my conscience.

I could have been a railroad lawyer had I desired to enter that field of human activity; in fact, I have received one or two offers in my time to devote my energies to that branch of the law. I recollect a very flattering offer made to me a few years ago of $25,000 a year; but I never was very anxious to make money, for with me money is a secondary consideration; and I have preferred to pursue the even tenor of the simple life, to work out my professional salvation in my own way and my political career along my own lines. I work pretty

hard here in the Halls of Congress, day in and day out, week in and week out, trying to do the right thing for my constituents and the square thing for the good of the people generally throughout the country. I am content with my work; I rather like it. I have cast my lot along the pleasant sunshiny highways of humanity; but sometimes it seems to me that almost every man in the land who has a grievance, or thinks he has a grievance, comes to me to set things right and to secure him justice. I spend a great deal of valuable time investigating some of these complaints, and it takes much labor to do so conscientiously; but whenever I find a case that is really and truly a worthy cause I do not fear or hesitate to take up the burden of the fight and do the best I can. This may be altruistic, and I know that often my efforts are unappreciated, derided, misconstrued, and futile, but I suppose, nevertheless, that I will go on doing so to the end of my time, because—

"I know that the world, that the great big world,
From the pauper up to the king,
Has a different tale from the tale I tell,
And a different song to sing;
But for me, I care not a single fig
If they say I'm wrong or I'm right,
For I'll always go in, if I go in at all,
For the under dog in the fight."

A FEW GOOD WORDS FOR THE LIFE-SAVERS.

On March 17, 1908, Mr. Sulzer said in Congress:

Mr. Speaker: I only want to say a word. In my opinion, this is a commendable bill. I know something of the life-savers of our country, and I know their story of self-sacrifice and heroism. It is one of the brightest pages in American history. These men deserve well of the Government. Their heroic deeds on our coasts speak in trumpet tones in their behalf. These life-savers of the Republic are the hardest worked and the bravest and most efficient men in the public service. They should get more pay and more credit for what they do, and I will go as far as any man in Congress in their behalf. I am their friend, and I want to help them, in Congress or out of Congress, in any way I can. All honor and all glory to our brave and heroic life-savers.

THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

Mr. Sulzer is the author in Congress of the bill to create a Department of Transportation, with a Secretary of Transportation having a seat in the Cabinet.

Speaking for the Bill in the House on March 11, 1908, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the bill just read by the Clerk, introduced by me, to create the Department of Transportation, is a most comprehensive measure, dealing in a logical way and a practicable manner with this great interstate-commerce transportation problem. The measure provides for particular officials in the new department to investigate, report on, and regulate steam and electric railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterway traffic, pipe lines, and the express business. Powers are conferred on the department to obtain full information not only as to rates and other traffic arrangements, but as to the genuine capital employed, the resources and liabilities, earnings, dividends, etc.; and penalties are fixed, such as heavy fines and ineligibility of directors to retain their office when they have made false reports or defied the officials seeking information.

The purpose of the bill is not to interfere with the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission in examining into and regulating rates, but to assist in the work of compelling the transportation companies to obey the law, as all others are expected to do; and if this bill were placed on the statute books, I feel confident it would help very much, and go very far to solve some of the intricate questions presented by these powerful interstate transportation systems.

I believe, sir, that if a simple bill were prepared and

enacted into law, making the giving or receiving of a rebate a felony, and the power conferred on the Interstate Commerce Commission, where rates were unjust and unreasonable, to fix just and reasonable rates and maintain the same, unless modified or set aside by the court of last resort, and my bill, which has just been read by the Clerk, placed by its side on the statute books, that the cause of the people would triumph, that the Government would control the situation, and be able to regulate the great interstate transportation systems of our country, instead of the great interstate transportation companies controlling and dominating the Government.

I have given much time and careful study to the problems which we have been debating here for the past week, and which are and have been live questions before the people of this country for the past ten or fifteen years; and I believe that if we had a Department of Transportation to regulate the railroads and the transportation companies of the country, as provided in my bill, and to see to it that they did not violate the law, and if they did violate the law that the penalties of existing laws were speedily enforced against them, I believe that most of the problems would be solved and the question at issue settled in justice to all and with injury to none.

This bill of mine, sir, to create the Department of Transportation has been approved in editorials by some of the leading American newspapers. It has met with most favorable comment by many of the leading political writers and philosophical thinkers and railway economists of the land; and I believe that sooner or later this bill of mine, or some measure of a similar character, will be enacted into law by the Congress of the United States. It is the first attempt that has ever been made in this country to deal with this interstate-transportation problem in a scienific manner and a practicable business way.

I have received numerous letters from all over the country in favor of this bill to create the Department of Transportation to regulate the great interstate transportation companies of the country and to be able to see to it that they obey the law and do no injury to the peo-

ple. I have taken this opportunity to put the bill in the *Record* as a party of my speech, and I give notice to the Members of the House that I shall do all in my power to get my measure, with all that it means, before the people generally of the country, so that those who are really interested in this great transportation question can read it for themselves, in connection with the matters now under discussion, and can study its features and their application to the problems we are endeavoring to solve; and I believe that those who look deeply and carefully into the subject and who truly and earnestly desire to accomplish something of a permanent character to compel the railways and other interstate transportation corporations, including the steamboats, the telegraph, the telephone, the express, and the pipe line companies, to obey the law of the land, will agree with me, that this proposed legislation, embodied in this bill introduced by me, goes further than any other plan heretofore conceived to treat all the matters involved in this discussion in a practical business way and in a comprehensive governmental manner.

I shall do my best, Mr. Speaker, in Congress and out of Congress, to make this bill a law. I do not say it is perfect. I know in the first instance that no proposed constructive legislation is absolutely perfect; but I do claim that it is practicable, that it is comprehensive, that it is constitutional, and that it will go further in every way than any other plan thus far proposed to effectually check the evils which have grown up during the last twenty-five years in connection with our interstate transportation corporations, and do more than any other thing thus far suggested to remedy all the intestate transportation evils so bitterly complained of, at the present time, by the people of the United States. I shall welcome letters of approval, or suggestions and criticisms concerning this bill, from any and every citizen of our country who will take the trouble to study this broad and complete measure and the time to write me his views concerning it.

I say, and those who have studied this subject sufficiently to speak intelligently about it I think will agree

with me, that the real solution of the problems presented in connection with the evils growing out of abuses by great interstate transportation systems is publicity and the rigid and prompt enforcement of the law, and this can only be done and accomplished by Government regulation and Government supervision of these interstate transportation corporations. It is just as practicable from a business view, and a governmental standpoint, as the supervision and the regulation by the Government of the national banks, and I say just as necessary. The railroads must be the servants of the people—not their masters.

This bill is in the interest of the toilers of our land, the shippers and producers of our country, and the people generally. I say the bill is a good bill, a just bill, a comprehensive bill, and a feasible constructive scheme of practical legislation along proper and intelligent lines to eradicate intrenched wrongs that are to-day oppressing the people and doing a great injustice to the citizens of this country.

Mr. Speaker, legislative reforms are things of slow growth. It takes years of agitation to create sufficient public opinion to write a new law upon the statute books in the interest of all the people. It takes a long time for the people to win; but the truth will and must eventually prevail if one man dare assert it every day. So the truth of this proposition will win in the end.

The vast extent of the interstate transportation problem and the pressing and urgent importance of legislative remedies to correct existing evils to all the people of the United States are ample warrant for Congress to give this question the deepest investigation and the fullest consideration. There are many bills now before Congress affecting this question, some good, some bad, some indifferent, but no one of the bills, in my opinion, is a complete solution of all the questions involved in the problem. Hence the disposition on the part of some of the Republican leaders, which must be manifest to all, to rush through some plainly imperfect bill, to railroad to the Senate some defective measure, and then attempt to wash their hands of all further responsibility in the

matter, as was done in the last Congress with the Esch-Townsend bill, is a procedure that should not commend itself to the Members of this House, and I know will not be approved by the people.

I do not claim that my bill is a panacea for all the evils growing out of the interstate transportation problem. But I do assert that my bill proposes to settle, and settle right and for a long time to come, a most important phase of this abstruse and intricate question, and to do it in a thorough, prompt, practical, effective, and businesslike way, by publicity, and by the enforcement of the laws of our country affecting every company and corporation doing an interstate-commerce transportation business. This will include all railways, all steamboats, all express companies, all pipe lines, all telephone lines, and all telegraph lines, and the Government will be able to make investigations, secure the information, collect the data, and effectually deal with the questions involved through the instrumentalities created in this bill in an intelligent way and a comprehensive manner.

If this bill becomes a law the Government will be in a position to have in its power the agency to gather data, ascertain facts, get information, make investigations, enforce its orders, and prevent evils and wrongs by the strict and speedy execution of the laws now on the statute books, and if those laws are not sufficient to stop the evils complained of by the people, then the Government can recommend to Congress the enactment of additional laws to effectually eradicate every evil in connection with the interstate transportation problem.

Mr. Speaker, in studying this great question I am satisfied that three things are absolutely necessary to be done, at the present time, to effectually deal with the problems arising from the abuses of these interstate transportation systems.

First, there must be a body like the Interstate Commerce Commission, clothed with the right and authority to make just, fair, and reasonable rates in place of unjust, unfair, and unreasonable rates, and have these rates take effect immediately, and remain in full force and effect until modified or set aside by the Commission; or

modified or set aside by the court of last resort. This is an administrative function and should be the sole and only power under the constitutional limitations of our Government conferred on the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Second. There must be a body clothed with authority to determine controversies, review the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and interpret the laws of Congress governing and regulating transportation. This is a judicial function, and should properly be vested in the courts of our country.

Third. There should be an executive department in the National Government, with a Cabinet officer at its head, charged with the responsibility and the duty of the prompt and thorough enforcement of the laws of the United States concerning companies and corporations doing an interstate-commerce business. My bill creates this department. This is an executive function, and belongs to the executive branch of the Government; and these three functions should always be kept separate and distinct.

Now, sir, I think I have stated the proposition broadly and briefly. I have drawn my bill to create such a department in the executive branch of the Government, for the effective and speedy enforcement of the laws governing every company, and every corporation doing an interstate-commerce carrying business. My plan is in line with the true principles of our institutions from the days of the fathers down to the present time, and when it is adopted by Congress, and it must be adopted sooner or later, it will provide the quickest agency for the proper and speedy execution of the laws against flagrant violations of our statutes; and, to my mind, after mature reflection and careful consideration I believe it will prove an effectual remedy for the principal evils we are trying to check and to stop; and for once and for all time eradicate from the body politic and our system of government the abuses of the great interstate-transportation companies of our country.

MR. SULZER FAVORS THE TUBERCULOSIS CONGRESS.

(*From Speech in Congress, May* 18, 1908.)

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, this is a most important matter. I take an abiding interest in this tuberculosis congress. It will probably be one of the most important conventions, so far as material benefits are concerned, which has ever assembled in this or any other country. It seems to me, therefore, that we ought to provide in some way, somehow, suitable accommodations for the assembling of these distinguished experts who are doing so much for science, and giving so much of their valuable time to this appalling subject, the great white plague, which is decimating humanity every year to a much greater extent than all the wars in all the world. I hope the bill will be agreed to. It is a good measure and should be adopted unanimously. Anything that will check the progress of this frightful plague will be a boon to humanity most devoutly to be wished.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH IN FAVOR OF SAN FRANCISCO FOR THE PANAMA EXPOSITION.

SPEECH OF MR. SULZER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 31, 1911.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I shall vote for San Francisco as the most desirable place in which to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal. The completion of the great canal will be the consummation of the hopes of the great world builders and the realization of the constructive dreamers of four centuries. It will mark the engineering triumph of all the ages. It will divide the continents, connect the oceans, extend our coast line, and make us invulnerable on land and sea. We should fittingly celebrate the completion of this gigantic undertaking. The Panama Canal is ours. We have built it, we will own it, and we will protect it forever. We want a Panama year, and 1915 is written as the time and San Francisco should be the place in our glorious coming annals.

Sir, in the interest of the people I have carefully considered the best place in which to hold this celebration and have come to the irresistible conclusion that the only suitable place to do justice to the Panama exposition is the beautiful city of San Francisco. There are many reasons for this judgment. In the short time allowed to me for discussion I can not go into all of them, but one reason is enough, and that is the opening in 1915 of the Panama Canal will extend the coast line of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The stupendous work is essentially a Pacific project, and the commercial metropolis of the Pacific Ocean is beyond question San Francisco—the city of boundless hospitality, the city of

warm hearts and glad hands, the greatest cosmopolitan city on all the broad Pacific. She needs no eulogy. Her story is the pride of America.

All credit to the intrepid citizens of San Francisco. They know no such word as fail. All glory to the new San Francisco. She has risen phœnixlike from her ashes —greater and grander than ever—the wonder of the world. The people of San Francisco are determined to demonstrate to all the world the progress they are achieving in everything that makes for the advancement of humanity. They ask the Government for no help. They want no gift. They appeal for no loan. All they ask is that the Government recognize the importance of their celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal, lend its official indorsement, take part in it, build its own buildings, make its own exhibits, do so at its own expense, officially invite the other nations to do likewise—and San Francisco will do the rest.

The Government has aided financially every exposition of a national character ever held in this country. No Government aid is asked by San Francisco for this Panama exposition—not a dollar is sought, directly or indirectly—only suitable recognition and the extension of an official invitation to all the world to come, to see, and to participate.

The San Francisco exposition will be in the interest of all the people. It will materially benefit all sections of our country. In an educational way it will be a blessing to all the world. Then why should the Government refuse the request of San Francisco? I can not believe that we shall be so blind to our own best interests as to permit this legislation to fail. Congress should lend a friendly recognition to the enterprising and progressive people on our Pacific borders. They are entitled to it. They are doing a great work, that benefits all the people of our country. This exposition will bring to the attention of the world the wonderful natural resources and the great commercial possibilities of the countries bordering on the Pacific, and do much to strengthen the friendly trade relations of the nations on the ocean of the Orient.

Mr. Speaker, I am a friend of San Francisco. All things considered, she deserves the honor of the Panama exposition. Select as the celebration city the beautiful metropolis of the Pacific coast and it will be for the good of all. The Panama exposition will be a memorable milestone, marking a great epoch in our onward and upward progress. It will diffuse knowledge, educate the people, and exhibit the wonderful resources of our country and the constructive genius of our people. It will mean ocular demonstration, a great object lesson along historical, and educational, and mechanical, and commercial lines. It will mean triumph and advancement and enlightenment—and all for humanity. It will emphasize our greatness and our grandeur and our glory. It will illustrate our marvelous growth in every line of human effort, and demonstrate the giant strides our citizens are making along every avenue of industrial progress.

THE COUNTRY NEEDS GOOD ROADS.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. SULZER, FOR FEDERAL AID TO GOOD ROADS, IN CONGRESS, MAY 29, 1908.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: For years I have been an earnest advocate of good-road building. Good roads mean progress and prosperity, a benefit to the people who live in the cities, an advantage to the people who live in the country, and it will help every section of our vast domain.

Good roads, like good streets, make habitation along them most desirable; they enhance the value of farm lands, facilitate transportation, and add untold wealth to the producers and consumers of the country; they are the mile stones marking the advance of civilization; they economize time, give labor a lift, and make millions in money; they save wear and tear and worry and waste; they beautify the country—bring it in touch with the city; they aid the social and religious and educational and the industrial progress of the people; they make better homes and happier firesides; they are the avenues of trade, the highways of commerce, the mail routes of information, and the agencies of speedy communication; they mean the economical transportation of marketable products—the maximum burden at the minimum cost; they are the ligaments that bind the country together in thrift and industry and intelligence and patriotism; they promote social intercourse, prevent intellectual stagnation, and increase the happiness and prosperity of our producing masses; they contribute to the glory of the city and the country, give employment to our idle workmen, distribute the necessaries of life—the products of the fields and the forests and the factories—encourage

energy and husbandry, inculcate love for our scenic wonders, and make mankind better and broader and greater.

The plain people of the land are familiar with the truths of history. They know the past. They realize that often the difference between good roads and bad roads is the difference between profit and loss. Good roads have a money value far beyond our ordinary conception. Bad roads constitute our greatest drawback to internal development and material progress. Good roads mean prosperous farmers; bad roads mean abandoned farms, sparsely settled country districts, and congested populated cities, where the poor are destined to become poorer. Good roads mean more cultivated farms and cheaper food products for the toiler in the cities; bad roads mean poor transportation, lack of communication, high prices for the necessaries of life, the loss of untold millions of wealth, and idle workmen seeking employment. Good roads will help those who cultivate the soil and feed the multitudes, and whatever aids the producers and the farmers of our country will increase our wealth and our greatness and benefit all the people. We can not destroy our farms without final decay. They are to-day the heart of our national life and the chief source of our material greatness. Tear down every edifice in our cities and labor will rebuild them, but abandon the farms and our cities will disappear forever.

One of the crying needs in this country, especially in the South and West, is good roads. The establishment of good roads would, in a measure, solve the question of the high price of food and the increasing cost of living. By reducing the cost of transportation, it would enable the farmer to market his produce at a lower price and at a larger profit at the same time. It would bring communities closer together and in touch with the centers of population, thereby facilitating the commerce of ideas as well as of material products.

When the agricultural protection alone of the United States for the past eleven years totals $70,000,000,000, a sum that staggers the imagination, and when we consider that it cost more to take this product from the farm to the railway station than from such station to the

American and European markets, and when the saving in cost of moving this product of agriculture over good highways instead of bad would have built a million miles of good roads, the incalculable waste of bad roads in this country is shown to be of such enormous proportions as to demand immediate reformation and the exercise of the wisest and best statesmanship.

But great as is the loss to transportation, mercantile, industrial, and farming interests, incomparably greater is the material loss to the women and children and the social life, a matter as important as civilization itself. The truth of the declaration of Charles Sumner fifty years ago, that "the two greatest forces for the advancement of civilization are the schoolmaster and good roads," is emphasized by the experience of the intervening years and points to the wisdom of a union of the educational, commercial, transportation, and industrial interests of our country in aggressive action for permanent good roads.

EULOGY ON THE LATE RICHARD P. BLAND.

(*In Congress, April 7, 1900.*)

THE LATE RICHARD PARKS BLAND.

Saturday, April 7, 1900.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended in order that suitable tribute may be paid to the high character and eminent public services of the Hon. Richard Parks Bland, late a most distinguished member of the House of Representatives of the United States from the State of Missouri.

"*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect for the memory of the deceased the House, at the conclusion of these memorial exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk of the House transmit a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased statesman and inform the Senate of the action of this body."

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: With all that has been so eloquently and so affectionately said here to-day regarding the life and character of the late Richard P. Bland, I concur, and I would not be true to myself and to my friendship and admiration for him if I did not on this sad occasion place on record my humble tribute to his memory.

For years Mr. Bland has been a prominent national figure and his name a household word. He had friends and followers and admirers in every hamlet and every State in the Union. His untimely death was a sad and

terrible shock to us all, and to his country an irretrievable loss. When he died, the whole nation mourned and sympathized with his bereaved family, and the Republic lost as true and sincere a patriot as ever lived. He was a true man, a friend of the plain people, generous and forgiving, sincere and patriotic, honest and truthful, zealous and indefatigable in the cause of right and justice. For a quarter of a century he was a towering pillar of the Republic. The work he did is a part of the history of our country, and it is fitting and proper that his colleagues in this House should set aside a day to justly commemorate his name and fame. As the years come and go he will be better understood and more appreciated. Posterity will give him a higher place in the Temple of Fame, and future generations will pay his memory greater homage.

Richard Parks Bland was born near Hartford, Ky., on the 19th day of August, 1835, and died at his home in Lebanon, Mo., on the 15th day of June, 1899. He received an academic education. He was an unwearied student and an apt scholar. In 1855 he removed to Missouri and shortly thereafter to California, thence to that portion of Utah now Nevada, locating in Virginia City, where he practiced law for a time. He was interested in mining operations in California and Nevada; was county treasurer of Carson County, Utah Territory, from 1860 until the organization of the State government of Nevada; returned to Missouri in 1865; located at Rolla, Mo., and practiced law with his brother, C. C. Bland, until he removed to Lebanon, in August, 1869, and continued his practice there; was elected to the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fifth, and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

The work he did for the toilers of the land and the beneficient results he accomplished for struggling humanity during his long career as a member of this House must ever be a part of the imperishable history of the country, and the future historian impartially writing the

legislative story of the last twenty-five years of the American Congress will place him in the front rank of constructive statesmen. That record is the heritage he left his countrymen and will be for all time to come the monument of his undying fame. It stands for absolute truth, exact justice, eternal principles, equality before the law, and equal rights for all.

He was no respecter of persons, no hero worshiper. He believed in humanity and trusted the people. He had faith in the greatness and the endurance of the Republic, and battled all his life to perpetuate our free institutions and hand them down unimpaired to future generations. He was a plain, simple man who loved his fellow-man. He was a believer in the fundamental principles that constitute our national existence and he trod the path of the patriot fathers. He was a disciple of Thomas Jefferson and struggled to keep the Government pure and in the control of the people. He turned his back on caste, combated privilege, and was the relentless foe of private monopoly. He was a unique man in many ways. His nature was without guile; he hated cant, spurned pretense, and despised hypocrisy. He was the friend of the Constitution, and no argument, no sophistry, could persuade him from the path of duty. He did his works bravely and fearlessly in the face of obstacles that would appall a weaker and a more timid man.

In the great battle for the people's rights he never wearied, and the marshaled hosts of error never conquered him. Year in and year out he fought the good fight; he kept the faith. He lived truly, he thought truly, and he spoke truly. His life was as placid as a summer stream, and made him loved by all who knew him. His words uttered here for the defenseless were always respectfully listened to by admiring friends and doubting opponents, and were read and reread by innumerable millions. He spoke the truth for the countless who were robbed and oppressed for the enrichment and the benefit of the few, and he knew the truth would ultimately triumph and that his efforts for the rights of the people would sooner or later be crowned with success.

"Think truly, and thy thought
Shall the world's great famine feed;
Speak truly, and each word of thine
Shall be a fruitful seed;
Live truly, and thy life shall be
A grand and noble creed."

Such a man was Richard Parks Bland—a truly great, a truly good, a truly honest man in all things.

The great and immortal truths he uttered were not uttered in vain. They have borne and will continue to bear abundant fruit. His cause will live, and, in my opinion, the day is not far distant when the principles he contended for will be written on the statute books of America, an everlasting monument to his wisdom, his foresight, and his unerring judgment. The martyr dies; the cause survives. Man goeth to his long home, but his works live after him.

Mr. Bland was a faithful public servant. He never betrayed a friend, a trust, or a principle. He always fought fair and open and aboveboard. He never resorted to trickery, to device, or to chicanery. He had no tricks of speech. He was a plain, blunt man, who never used words to conceal thoughts. He told the truth and told it in the simplest and most direct way. He went to the root of the subject. His heart was in all he did, in all he said, and he was great and eloquent and impressive because he was simple, honest, and sincere, and every word he uttered had the genuine ring of truth. He never despaired. He had the rectitude and patience of the rocks, the hope of the stream rushing to meet the ocean, the fidelity of the sun.

He believed in equal opportunity, encouraged worth, applauded manly effort, and wanted man to be free and stand erect. He was a great commoner; he sympathized with those who toil and struggle; he believed in the love of home, the sanctity of the hearthside, and his great responsive heart went out to comfort the sad, the sorrowing, and the disconsolate. He was the foe of tyranny, the enemy of bigotry, the eternal adversary of oppression. He was the champion of the masses, the friend of

the downtrodden, the pioneer and the leader of the reform forces of the Republic against the serried ranks of the predatory classes.

Humanity was his constituency, to do good his political creed. He stood for the weak against the strong, for the lowly against the powerful, for the oppressed against the oppressor, for the right against the wrong, for truth against error, for every cause that lacked assistance, and, above all and beyond all, he stood, in all places and at all times, for the rights of man. When he died a great tree in the forests of the people fell and a great light in the Republic went out. We who follow after him, imbued with his noble example and inspired by his civic virtues, will heroically take up his burden, push forward his cause, and continue his fight until the battle is won and the mighty principles he contended for are forever triumphant. I believe if he were here to-day this would be his message, his wish to us, and that he would say to all as the poetess of America has so truly said to the world:

"Let those who have failed take courage,
Though the enemy seemed to have won,
Though his ranks are strong, if he be in the wrong,
The battle is not yet done.
For sure as the morning follows
The darkest hour of the night,
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

O man bowed down with labor,
O woman young, yet old,
O heart oppressed in the toiler's breast
And crushed by the power of gold,
Keep on with your weary battle
Against triumphant might,
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right."

AN ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO LABOR.

(From Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress, in Favor of His Bill to Establish a Department of Labor, May 15, 1908.)

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: No man can pay too high a tribute to "labor." It is the creative force of the world, the genius of accomplishment of the brain and the brawn of man, the spirit of all progress, and the milestones marking the advance of nations. Civilization owes everything to labor—to the constructive toiler and the creative worker. Labor owes very little to civilization. Mother Earth is labor's best friend. From her forests and her fields, from her rocks and her rivers, the toiler has wrought all and brought forth the wonders of the world.

Labor is not of to-day, or of yesterday, or of to-morrow. It is eternal. Dynasties come and go, governments rise and fall, centuries succeed centuries, but labor goes on forever. Labor is the everlasting law of life.

Tear down your temples and labor will replace them; close every avenue of trade and labor will reopen them; destroy your towns and labor will rebuild them greater and grander than they were; but destroy labor, and famine will stalk the land, and pestilence will decimate the human race. If every laborer in the world should cease work for ninety days, it would cause the greatest catastrophe that ever befell mankind—a tragedy to the human race impossible to depict and too frightful to contemplate.

Mr. Speaker, let us be just to labor. I am now, always have been, and always will be the friend of the toilers—of the farmers, and the wage-earners of America—of those who earn their bread in the sweat of their face.

The record of my life, in the legislature of my State, and in the Congress of the United States, will prove the truth and the sincerity of these words.

I stand for the rights of man. I am an individualist, and I want to open the door of opportunity to every individual in the land. I want to do all I can to make the world better and happier and more prosperous. I believe in the dignity of labor, and I want to do everything I can as a legislator to protect its inherent rights and promote its best interests for the lasting benefit of all the people of the country. I want labor to have as much standing as capital in the halls of Congress and at the seat of government.

We have a Department to represent war; we have a Department to represent diplomacy; we have a Department to represent our internal affairs; we have a Department to represent commerce; we have a Department to represent justice—all supported by the wage-earners, and in the name of common sense why should we not have a Department to represent industrial peace as exemplified by labor, the most important in its last analysis of them all? The creation of a Department of Labor will be a long step in the right direction in the new century's progress for harmony and for industrial peace, and through its agency, in my judgment, many perplexing problems can be quickly solved in a way that will do substantial justice to all concerned.

Labor makes no war on vested rights. It does not rail at honestly acquired wealth. It is not antagonistic to legitimate capital. It would close no door to opportunity. It would darken no star of hope. It would not palsy initiation nor paralyze ambition. It stands for the rights of man; for the greatness of individualism; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; and so I declare that captal and labor must be friends, not enemies. They should act in harmony. Their interests should be mutual, not antagonistic. In our complex civilization each is essential to the other, and they should walk hand in hand. To prosper, they must be at peace, not at war. Each is necessary to the other. Both have their rights and both have their limitations.

The inherent rights of labor are as sacred as the vested rights of capital. Labor makes capital—creates all wealth—and should have, to say the least, equal opportunities and as much consideration; but the trouble seems to be that labor does not receive a fair share of what it produces. It is the duty of the legislator to see to it that there is less centralization of wealth and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of toil.

Labor has as much right to organize as capital. The right of a man to labor is inalienable, and the right of a man to quit work is just as undeniable. Neither capital nor labor has the right to take the law in its own hands. If capital does wrong that is no reason why labor should do wrong, or *vice versa*. Two wrongs never did and never will make a right. In a government such as ours, the reign of law must not and will not give way to the reign of force.

The best advice that any friend can give labor, organized or otherwise, in its struggle for its just rights, for better conditions, for greater progress, and for a more equitable distribution of its fruits, is obey the law. Labor's only hope is here. This is a land of liberty, but it is now, ever was, and always will be, liberty under law.

IN FAVOR OF THE UNITED STATES BUYING AND OWNING ITS OWN LEGATIONS AND EMBASSIES ABROAD.

Mr. Sulzer is the author of the Bill in Congress. Speaking for the bill on February 11, 1910,

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SULZER: Mr. Chairman, I rise for the purpose of making an inquiry. I ask if this bill carries any appropriation or provision for the purchase or the acquisition of sites for legations and embassies in the capital cities of the world?

Mr. PERKINS: It does not.

Mr. SULZER: In this connection I just want to say that I am in favor of the Government buying and owning in all foreign countries suitable residences for its ministers and ambassadors. I hope the plan will be adopted by the committee and carried out in a separate bill. There is such a bill.

Mr. PERKINS: There is.

Mr. SULZER: Has the bill been reported?

Mr. PERKINS: It has been reported from the committee.

Mr. SULZER: I am very glad to know that, and I trust the bill will soon pass and become a law. In my judgment it will be wise, economical, and democratic for us to adopt a plan sufficiently comprehensive in scope to enable the Government gradually to buy suitable official residences, or buy a site and build on it a suitable official residence, for its representatives in foreign countries. It can be done gradually and along safe and economical lines. It may take ten or twenty years, but ultimately it will be accomplished, and then this great Republic will own in its own name, furnished and complete, with the

flag of our country forever floating above it—a harbor of refuge to all—a legation, or an embassy, in foreign countries commensurate with its dignity and importance; and then, and not till then, will brains and fitness instead of wealth and position be the qualifications for appointment in the American diplomatic service.

IN HONOR OF ANDREW JACKSON.

(*Speech in Congress January 7, 1899.*)

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Andrew Jackson from his birth to his bier was a remarkable personage. He was a man of iron will and of indomitable spirit. His veins were filled with good red blood, and his nerves were of steel. He never knew fear. He never turned his back on friend or foe. He knew the right and never hesitated to do it. He hated cant, despised hypocrisy, and cared naught for consequences.

He was a plain man. He loved the plain people; they understood him and they loved him.

He was a forceful man, a direct man, a positive man, an honest man, and a truthful man. He hated a liar, and he spurned with contempt a coward.

His life began with the struggles of a brave people to cast off the tyrannous yoke of oppression, and when it went out his last look witnessed the greatest and the grandest Republic the world has ever seen.

His life was a part of the Republic, and demonstrated its opportunities and its possibilities.

Andrew Jackson was not born to the purple; he was no child of pampered fortune; he knew woe and want, poverty and misery, trial and trouble.

He was schooled in the school of adversity, but learned to surmount all difficulties.

He was a soldier in three wars and a hero in each.

His parents came from the north of Ireland. He was of Scotch-Irish origin, and had that blood in his veins with all that it means and all that it implies.

He first saw the light of day in Carolina in March, 1767. It was a new and sparsely settled country. Shortly

after his birth his father died, leaving a widow and three orphan children. Andrew Jackson was the youngest.

His early days were days of hardship and privation, but they were trial days to school him and to fit him for the part he was to play in life.

At that time the Revolution smoldered, and when it finally blazed forth in all its fury, the greatest and the grandest Revolution that ever shook the earth, all the Jacksons were in it and a part of it.

Andrew Jackson, then a mere lad, was a soldier and a hero in those dark and stormy days. He was a warrior for the right, a soldier for freedom. He was captured, made a prisoner of war, and while such, because he refused to blacken the boots of an English officer, was struck a cruel blow on the head with a sword. He carried the terrible scar to his grave, but he avenged the insult at New Orleans.

The Revolution passed and the Republic dawned. During the heroic struggle Jackson's mother and his brothers died, all martyrs to the sacred cause. The close of the contest to vindicate the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed found Andrew Jackson homeless, penniless, and friendless, with neither kith nor kin, but nothing daunted. The ordeal of the Revolution made him a man, a patriot, and a Democrat.

Andrew Jackson loved his mother with a passion almost divine. His devotion to her memory is the noblest trait in his heroic character, and his undying fame her greatest monument.

Napoleon asked: "What is wanting to save the youth of France?" Madame Champau answered: "Mothers." No man was ever truly great whose mother was not really great.

Andrew Jackson's mother intended him for the ministry, but fate willed otherwise. He studied law, practiced it successfully, was a judge and a good jurist, a member of both branches of Congress, molded the Constitution of Tennessee, was the greatest and most successful Indian fighter who ever lived, crushed at New Orleans the greatest invading force which ever dese-

crated our sacred soil, humbled in the dust the flower of the English army, and destroyed for all time the power and the prestige of Great Britain on the Western Hemisphere.

Andrew Jackson was the hero of the war of 1812 and won its most decisive victory. He was a great citizen-soldier, but a greater civilian. He was a volunteer and believed in and stood for the volunteer forces of the Republic. He was opposed to a great standing army and had no sympathy with imperialism.

He was a Democrat, reared in the Democratic school of Thomas Jefferson. He stood for the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, for civil and religious liberty, for the Constitution, for all that Jefferson stood for. He believed in our cardinal principle of special privileges to none, equal opportunities for all.

He stood for advancement, for progress, for personal liberty, for the schoolhouse and the home. There was nothing illiberal, nothing narrow-minded, about Andrew Jackson. He was broad-gauged and broad-minded. He believed in the ability of the plain people to govern themselves. He stood for their rights, their hopes, their aspirations, and he vindicated them while he lived.

He brought about the annexation of the Floridas and was their first American governor. He accomplished what he purposed; he did things.

He was twice President of the United States, stamped his personality indelibly on her history, and when he died he was the popular idol of the American people. He will always be one of the most interesting figures in our history.

He vindicated American institutions, crushed treason, pilloried nullification, and dethroned the United States Bank, the greatest private monopoly of his day.

He stood for the home and the hearthside, the sanctity of the family, and for the blessings of Christian civilization.

He stood for internal improvements, for commerce, the American merchant marine, and he loved his country with an intensity that was patriotism personified.

No one ever questioned the purity of his patriotism, or challenge the integrity of his motives, and yet no public man in all our history was ever more bitterly assailed by his enemies or more justly loved by his friends and adherents.

Andrew Jackson had his faults and his foibles. He was not a demigod—he was only human. He hated and he loved in human ways like other human beings. He triumphed and he suffered. He was a man of force and of passion, the man for every crisis, and yet no man could be calmer under more trying circumstances—no man suffered more and complained less. His whole life was an heroic struggle mentally and physically. But amid all the storms of his tempest-tossed career his heart beat true, and was ever warm; his hand was always steady, his head was ever cool, and within his stern exterior there dwelt a Christian spirit and a noble nature as gentle as a woman's. He was a great Democratic leader, and no man ever had more loyal followers.

He stood for the true democracy, the rule of the plain people, the democracy which unfetters trade, fosters commerce, establishes industry, aids enterprise, maintains equal opportunity, unshackles the mind and the conscience, and defends liberty.

He was a great man, the representative of two centuries. He was the embodiment of true American manhood, the personification of the genius of our free institutions, and the incarnation of Jeffersonian Democracy.

AGAINST THE WHITE-SLAVE TRADE.

Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress, January 12, 1910.

Mr. BENNET of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to my colleague [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, all I want to say is that no man in this House or out of the House will go farther than I am willing to go to secure the enactment of the most drastic legislation which can be placed upon the statute books of this country to suppress that crime which, for the want of a better name, is called the "white-slave traffic."

I hope the municipalities of the country will take up the matter and suppress the evil. I trust that the States will take up the question and check the crime, and I believe that this Congress will be recreant to its duty to all the people if it fails to pass the most stringent law that can be devised by the human intellect to suppress the traffic in human souls.

I have no sympathy with the quibbling in regard to the constitutionality of some of the provisions of this bill. In this frightful matter I shall not allow technicalities to cloud my sense of immediate duty. The courts must take the responsibility for its constitutionality. I shall vote for this bill and do everything within my power to pass it here and now, so that it shall be placed at the earliest possible moment upon the statute books of our country.

SULZER'S ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO DEMOCRACY.

DELIVERED IN CONGRESS, MAY 19, 1910.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the success of Democracy is assured. The Republican party has failed to redeem its promises; it has disappointed the people; it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; its tenure of official life is short; on every issue of political importance before the people to-day it is in the minority.

The issues are now with Democracy. The political pendulum is swinging toward the party of Jefferson. The finger on the dial plate of political destiny points to the Sage of Monticello. As Hamiltonism wanes and passes in the shadow the heroic figure of the founder of our party looms larger and larger on the horizon. The Republicans have failed to make good. They promised much, but did little. They said they would revise the tariff taxes downward to lessen the burdens of toil and reduce the cost of the necessaries of life. They revised the tariff upward and increased the cost of living to a lamentable degree. They said the tariff must be reformed by its "friends," and it was reformed with such a vengeance that the people want to annihilate these "friends." They said the ultimate consumer was a myth; but every election held since the Payne-Aldrich tariff act went into effect demonstrates that the ultimate consumer is a reality and tired of being humbugged.

The Democratic party stands to-day where it always has stood and where it always will stand—for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; for law and order and good government; for economy and retrenchment and reform; for home rule and the right of local

self-government; for equal and exact justice to all men —no class legislation, no caste, no cant, no pretense, no hypocrisy, no sumptuary and oppressive laws; for the home and the schoolhouse; for free men; for a free and untrammeled press; for freedom of speech; for civil and religious liberty; for the rights of man; for the sanctity of the ballot box; for peace and harmony—the strength and support of all great institutions—between labor and capital; for a fair day's pay for an honest day's work; for a loyal acquiescence in the will of the majority; for a graduated income tax and an equitable system of tariff taxation, adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Government honestly and economically administered, and so distributed that the rich as well as the poor shall pay their just share of the burden; for the election of Senators in Congress by the people; for direct primaries; for a general parcels post; for a department of labor with a secretary having a seat in the Cabinet; for a strict construction of the Constitution and the reserved rights of the States in opposition to greater centralization of government at Washington; for necessary internal improvements—good roads and better waterways; for the conservation of our natural resources; for an adequate navy; for the upbuilding, along honest lines, of our merchant marine; for the destruction of the criminal trusts and the abolition of private monopoly; for friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; for the Monroe doctrine; for sympathy with the oppressed of every land and in every clime; for the perpetuity of our free institutions and the fundamental principles of Democracy here and wherever our flag greets the morning sun.

These principles are now and always should be a part of the affirmative platform of the Democratic party. Men may come and men may go, but these principles are eternal and will go on forever.

I have no fears for Democracy. The Democratic party will never die until the pillars of the Republic totter and crumble and liberty is no more. Its future is as secure as its past is glorious, and its ultimate success in the struggle for equal rights to all will be the

crowning triumph of the progress of the race and the brightest page in the annals of human destiny.

Democracy will live to voice the aspirations of liberty and to perpetuate the freedom of the fathers; it will live to remedy every political evil; to expose every economic heresy; and to destroy every governmental abuse; it will live to push onward the forces of reform and to lift humanity to a higher plane in the march of civilization; it will live to champion the cause that lacks assistance and to stem the tide that needs resistance; it will live to battle for the weak against the strong and for the right against the wrong; it will live to stop the predatory few from exploiting the protesting many, and doing it all under the cloak of law; it will live to defend the Constitution and to commend the Declaration of Independence; it will live to fight for the glory of the flag and to vindicate the rights of man; it will live to keep alive the memory of Jefferson and of Lincoln, the greatest apostles of freedom in all our marvelous history; it will live because it has a mission—a mission that can never die—the true mission of Democracy—to make mankind brothers and all the world free.

NO INVASION OF MEXICO—SAYS SULZER,

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

By Colonel John Temple Graves,

In the New York American, May 11, 1912.

Perhaps no man in Congress represents more accurately and honestly the thoughtful and conservative attitude of the Sixty-second Congress on this question than William Sulzer. Mr. Sulzer has won golden opinions by his handling of foreign affairs since he assumed the chairmanship of that committee. His views are respected, and his frankness to the press and to the public is to be commended.

So much value is placed upon Mr. Sulzer's official views upon this Mexican question that I solicited them to-day for the *New York American*. In answer to a series of questions Mr. Sulzer made the following very interesting replies:

"Has the capture of Juarez changed the Mexican situation?" Mr. Sulzer was asked.

"The capture of Juarez by the insurrectos has not changed, so far as I can see, the international status of the Mexican situation," replied Mr. Sulzer.

"If the Mexicans continue to live up to their treaty obligations with us, and afford ample protection to the lives of American citizens and security to American property, the Government of the United States should not interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, but allow the Mexicans to settle their own troubles in their own way."

"In your opinion, Mr. Sulzer, should belligerent rights be extended to the insurrectos?"

IS NOT ADVISABLE NOW.

"That is a very serious question," replied Mr. Sulzer. "Of course, if the government of the United States recognized the belligerency of the insurrectos it would change considerably the present international status of affairs, especially so far as claims for damages, etc., are concerned. At present I hardly think it advisable for the Government of the United States to grant belligerent rights to the contending factions in Mexico."

"Do you think," Mr. Sulzer was asked, "that ultimately the Government of the United States must intervene in Mexico?"

"As I have said frequently since this session of Congress began," replied Mr. Sulzer, "I think at present it would be a blunder worse than a crime for the Government of the United States to invade Mexico.

"There are nearly 20,000 American citizens in Mexico and their lives would be in jeopardy just as soon as the troops of the United States crossed the Mexican frontier. This is a very serious aspect of the case and deserves from all in authority in America the greatest consideration in reaching a conclusion.

"Again, there is at least a billion dollars of American money invested in Mexico, and the invasion of the country by the United States would doubtless cause much of its immediate destruction.

NO ATTACK ON OUR CITIZENS.

"Thus far the Mexicans have not, as far as I can learn, destroyed American lives or American property in Mexico. There has been no concerted attack on our citizens in the country. Both sides in Mexico are doing their best to hold the good will and respect of the people of the United States.

"I am in substantial accord with the Secretary of State, and I believe that this is a good time to keep cool regarding Mexican matters. It is better to be slow than to be sorry, and I am not in sympathy with those who favor rushing the army of the United States across the Mexican border.

"The invasion of Mexico by the United States troops would be equivalent to a declaration of war, and it would be one of the most costly wars in our history, entailing loss of life and money beyond the comprehension of the finite mind. People who think the invasion of Mexico would be a picnic are not familiar with the facts, and know not what they say. I am reliably informed by experts that for us to hold Mexico would require an army of from 300,000 to half a million soldiers, and that the cost to the Government of the United States would be hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars.

"The loss of life would be terrible. The Mexicans, of course, would promptly get together as a matter of pure patriotism to repel the invaders, and we would be handicapped and at a great disadvantage. Of course, the present situation in Mexico is deplorable, but it is not a cause for a declaration of war on the part of the United States.

IS A FRIENDLY REPUBLIC.

"Mexico is a friendly sister Republic. She should be treated as such by the Government of the United States. Our policy should be to live up to our treaty obligations, enforce the neutrality laws, and indulge the hope that the patriotic people of Mexico will soon be able to settle their own differences without the intervention of the United States or any other government on earth."

"What in your opinion, Mr. Sulzer, would justify intervention?"

"Well," said Mr. Sulzer slowly, "intervention is unthinkable at present, and would entail such tremendous loss of life and property, besides disastrous responsibilities on the part of the people of the United States, that I do not want to discuss the question.

"The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives is in daily touch with the White House. We have faith that President Taft will do all he can to prevent war, and we agree with the policy of the President to keep hands off Mexico. There will be no war with Mexico if the President and the sensible members of Congress can prevent it.

"We realize what will happen whenever our troops cross the frontier, and no patriotic citizen of America can contemplate it without doing everything in his power to avert war between the United States and Mexico.

AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME.

"A war of conquest would be an international crime. We have no designs on Mexico's sovereignty. If Mexico ever becomes a part of the United States it must be by her own free will and not by force. When we invaded Mexico before we took away more than half her territory on the continent and nobody can tell what will happen if we ever invade Mexico again.

"I am opposed to invasion for the sake of conquest. Such a policy, in my judgment, is contrary to the patriotic sentiments of nine-tenths of the people and gives the lie to our protestations for peace and for closer commercial relations with our sister republics on the Western Hemisphere.

"What will Latin America think of the great Republic if it ruthlessly invades the territory of a friendly but distracted sister republic for the sake of conquest, and then forcibly takes away a part or all of her domain?

VIEW EXPANSION WITH SUSPICION.

"Is it any wonder that the republics to our south view with grave suspicion the expansion policy of the United States since the war with Spain, and especially so since the establishment by force of the republic of Panama?

"Our sphere of influence by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine is essentially on the Western Hemisphere. In order to make that influence beneficent and in true interest of civilization, we must have the respect, the friendship of our sister republics, and we certainly cannot do so if we take advantage of the slightest pretext to despoil their countries. We declare to the world that we favor arbitration with all the world, and yet, with nothing to arbitrate, with no question in dispute, talk is rampant in the United States in favor of making war on Mexico."

ALL HONOR TO OUR SCHOOL-TEACHERS.

Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress, January 9, 1911.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker: As a consistent friend of the teachers in the public schools of our country, I favor this bill to create a retirement fund for the teachers in the District of Columbia, and indulge the hope that the measure will pass to-day without more delay or further successful opposition.

When we realize that the school-teachers in the public schools of the Capital City of the Nation are among its most intelligent, its hardest worked, and its poorest paid toilers in the Government employ, it seems to me the least we can do for them is to provide by law for their retirement on a reasonable pension when grown old in the service, or physically incapacitated by reason of its arduous and continuous labors. The unthinking do not always comprehend the qualifications essential for the successful school teacher; the progressive work these teachers of the boys and girls must do; the infinite patience they must possess; and all that they accomplish in the shaping of character and the molding of mentality of the future men and women of America. Whatever benefits the teacher will benefit the children, and whatever benefits the childrn will add untold greatness to the Republic.

The school teachers deserve well of Congress. Theirs is the great profession, and take them all in all they do a work, often too little appreciated, but making for the glory of the country and the perpetuity of our free institutions.

A sense of gratitude compels me to say America owes much to the free schools, and infinitely more to the

poorly paid school teachers. These agencies have accomplished more for our progress and our growth, more for patriotic America, more for all that we are and all that we hope to be, than all other agencies combined. I believe in popular education—in the free schools of our free country.

Let us be grateful to the public school teachers. Let us pay them sufficient for all that they do, so that they can maintain themselves decently, dress neatly, as befits the instructors of the young, and keep in physical health, in order to endure the strain of the classroom and the hard work at home which the average teacher must do; and then again, they must study, usually at their own expense, to continually improve themselves; and they must travel, also at their own expense, to widen their horizon and fit themselves for better and higher work. More is expected of the school teacher in proportion to the pay given than from any other class in the public service.

Here in the National Capital, with its boasted public school system, where we should have the most efficient, the happiest, and the most enthusiastic school workers in the world, the lot of the teachers is a sad one at the very best. They can hardly earn enough to make ends meet. In my judgment, these school teachers should receive more pay for the wonder work they do; but at all events, the least we can do for them now is to provide some means, some comfort, some hope, for their old age, for the day when they become incapacitated, and not turn them out to a cold world when they have given the best years of their lives to the making of all that is best in a country—its men and its women.

IN FAVOR OF PAN-AMERICAN TRADE.

Speech in Congress, July 9, 1909.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of better commercial relations with our progressive sister republics in Central and South America.

Here is a great field—a splendid opportunity—it seems to me for our industrial expansion and for our commercial extension; and now is the time, in my opinion, for the representatives in Congress of the people of the United States to exercise a grain of good business foresight in the enactment of tariff legislation that will mean much commercially as the years come and go to our producers, to our merchants, to our manufacturers, and to all the people of our country.

And yet, sir, I regret to say, as I have frequently said before, that not a line has thus far been written in the pending legislation, looking to the expansion of our trade and commerce with these friendly and neighborly countries. Not a thing has been done for its accomplishment, and I am frank to say it is a great political blunder and a greater commercial mistake. As I view the situation we either attempt on the one hand to go too far afield seeking trade at great expense in far distant lands, or we display on the other hand a sad lack of knowledge of existing conditions at home by denying trade at our doors—that is as detrimental to our best interests as it is deplorable in our statesmanship. The people of Central and South America are our real friends, and they should be our best customers; and they would be if we only had the sense and the wisdom to deal with them fairly and justly along lines mutually advantageous.

Hence, sir, I repeat that I indulge a lingering hope

that ere the pending bill becomes a law a paragraph will be written in its provisions for closer commercial relations with these progressive countries based on the equitable principles of truer reciprocal relations. As I have said before, I do not care how it is done; I have no vanity in the matter; I am wedded to no partisan policy; but I want to see it accomplished at the earliest possible day for the benefit of our own people and in the interest of all the people in Central and South America. I know it can easily be done, and if it is not done now we are simply blind to our own industrial welfare and to our own commercial opportunities.

Sir, the statistics conclusively show that the Central and South American trade at our very doors is growing more important and becoming more valuable every year. Why should we longer ignore it? European countries are doing their best to secure it, and the facts prove that they are getting the most of it at the present time, very much to our detriment and to our disadvantage. Why will our people always be blind to their own best interests and to their own greatest opportunities? Why spend millions of dollars annually seeking trade in the Orient when the commerce of all America—richer than the Indies—is knocking at our door? Let us obliterate the obstacles in the way, tear down the barriers selfish interests have erected, and open wide the doors to welcome this commerce ere it is too late and the golden opportunity be lost forever.

Now is the accepted time. These Central and South American countries are anxiously awaiting the outcome of our deliberations. They long for some evidence of our friendship and our sincerity. They want to trade with us. They will meet us more than halfway. They will study every line of this tariff bill when it becomes a law to see if it welcomes or abandons their hopes. Shall we disappoint their most sanguine expectations? Shall we ignore this most valuable trade, these great commercial opportunities, and give these splendid markets wholly and entirely to Germany and to England? I trust not; and so I say again I hope ere we adjourn and the pending tariff bill becomes a law, there will be

written in it a just and fair provision for freer commerce between the United States and all our sister republics in Central and South America.

Mr. Speaker, the people of these Central and South American countries are the true friends of the United States; they look to us for protection and sisterly sympathy; they need our help in their industrial progress; they desire our aid in the marketing of their products; they want our financial assistance in the development of their great natural resources; and their resources and their products are greater and richer than those of countries far away across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. We should aid them in their struggle for better conditions; we should extend to them a helping hand in their onward march of progress; we should glory in their prosperity. Their success is our success. They are rapidly forging to the front; their exports and imports are increasing annually; their trade is becoming more and more important; their commerce more and more valuable; and instead of closing our doors by an unjust tariff against these countries and their products, in my opinion we should open them wider and do everything in our power to welcome closer commercial relations.

We want their products and they want our products, and all trade barriers erected to prevent a fairer exchange of goods, wares and merchandise between us and these countries should, in so far as possible, be eliminated. It will be for the best interest of the people of our own country, to the lasting benefit of the people of these Central and South American countries, and for the mutual advantage of each and all—binding us together in closer ties of friendship and making for the peace and the prosperity and the industrial progress of the times.

MR. SULZER ON THE TARIFF.

From Speech in Congress, May 28, 1898.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I stand for a fair, a just and an equitable revenue system, a tariff for revenue that will support the Government, economically administered, with equal justice to all and favoritism to none, having a jealous care for our farmers and our toilers. I do not believe in taxing the necessaries of life, and exempting from taxation the luxuries. On the contrary, those articles the least needed by all the people should pay the highest tax, and those most needed by all the people should pay the least tax.

MR. SULZER'S LETTER TO BISHOP ALEXANDER WALTERS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1911.

To BISHOP ALEXANDER WALTERS,
President of the National Negro Political League,
New York City.

MY DEAR BISHOP:

On account of official duties it will be impossible for me to be present and address your meeting. However, I cannot forego this opportunity to congratulate you and your associates on the splendid work you are doing for the fundamental principles of Democracy, and the success you are making along the lines of practical organization with a view of convincing the men of your race that they have just as many friends among the Democrats as they have among the Republicans.

Equal rights to all and special privileges to none is the fundamental principle of Democracy, and the application of this principle to questions as they arise will solve them in the interest of the plain people of our country. It seems to me it should be the constant effort of the men of your race, in season and out of season, to keep this great principle to the front, so that all the people, without regard to race, religion or previous condition, shall be equal before the law, and the door of opportunity, under the star of hope of free America, ever remain open. The sentiment in favor of this idea is growing apace throughout the land, and means much for the future welfare of our country.

Democracy is not on the wane. It is stronger to-day than it ever was, and Democracy has no prejudice against

any race, but wants to help all sorts and conditions of people to rise step by step to higher levels in the onward march of civilization.

Let me say in conclusion that I congratulate you on the interest you are taking in Democratic principles, and I know of the great influence you have with the people of your race. You deserve well, and your work should be commended by every patriotic American. In the future, as in the past, anything I can do to help you and your friends you can rest assured will always be cheerfully done.

With best wishes, believe me, as ever,

Very sincerely your friend,

WILLIAM SULZER.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH FOR CUBA'S INDEPENDENCE.

In Congress, March 2, 1896, in favor of his resolution for Cuban Independence.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, what a sad story the history of Cuba tells!

For three hundred years Spain has ruled Cuba with an iron hand. It has been the rule of a military despotism over a conquered province. Its true history never has been written, and probably never will be. It has been one long, unending carnival of crime, of rapine, of public plunder, and of official robbery; a dark blot on civilization, a disgrace to Christendom, an imperial challenge to the sober sense of humanity. How much longer will it last? How much longer will this Government suffer it to last? Captain-general after captain-general has come and gone, leaving a trail of blood, of pillage, of plunder, and of crime in all its forms; but Cuban patriotism has lived on and hoped on, and has become, as the years rolled by, more intensified, more united, until at last the bright dawn of her independence day is at hand, and with our help the Ever-Faithful Isle, richest for its size of any on earth, will soon be free and independent from Spanish misrule and Spanish misgovernment.

Mr. Speaker, these brave, heroic Cuban patriots are fighting a battle of republicanism against monarchy; of democracy against plutocracy; home rule against the bayonet; the sovereignty of the individual against the sanctity of the king; the ballot against the throne; American liberty against foreign tyranny, and above all and beyond all they are fighting a battle for the rights

of man. They must and will succeed if they can maintain their present status for a few months more.

Spain denies that war exists in Cuba, yet she has sent an hundred thousand men there to put it down. Her greatest general took personal command, was recalled, and admits he cannot succeed. Spain never did and never will admit the truth about Cuba. She will not permit the world to know what is going on in the island, and the probability is that she is not carrying on a civilized mode of warfare. There seems to be very little difference between Captain-General Valmaceda and Captain-General Weyler, his former lieutenant, and the message of President Grant, through his Secretary of State, in 1869, crying out in the interest of civilization and common humanity against the mode of warfare in Cuba by the Spanish Government is no doubt as true to-day as it was then.

Mr. Speaker, Spain cannot win. She cannot subjugate Cuba. Her greatest generals meet with defeat in every important engagement, and her resources are drained to a condition of national bankruptcy. She cannot carry on the war much longer and must soon admit her inability to quell the revolution. From what I can ascertain and from what I can learn from the best and most authoritative sources, I know the Cubans will accept no terms but the freedom of the island—no more faithless promises of reform; nothing but absolute independence.

Cuba is the queen of the Antilles. She has justly been called the fair and fruitful isle, the Eden of all her sisters of the sea, the glorious gem of the ocean, whose very name fills the mind with the most enchanting pictures of tropical beauty, the most delicious dreams of natural wealth, of luxury, and of splendor, an eternal summer garden, intoxicating with the incense of perpetual flowers and brilliant with the plumage and the music of innumerable birds, beneath whose sunlit glowing sky the teeming earth yields easy and abundant harvest to the toil of man, inviting the traffic and the commerce of the world.

Mr. Speaker, on the 17th day of last December I of-

fered the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

"Joint resolution declaring that a state of public war exists in Cuba and that belligerent rights be accorded to the Cuban Government.

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Government of the United States recognizes a condition of public war between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and the United States of America hereby declare that they will maintain a condition of strict neutrality between the contending powers and accord to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States. The Congress of the United States protest and remonstrate against the barbarous manner in which the war in Cuba has been conducted, and the President is hereby authorized to take such steps as may be expedient, in his judgment, to secure an observance of the laws of war as recognized by all civilized nations.

That is a joint resolution and speaks for itself. It is couched in the proper form, and is all the Cuban patriots ask for or want. I introduced it at their request. It is moderate and conservative, but it accomplishes the object desired, hoped for, and prayed for. I indulge the hope that it will soon pass Congress.

In the present crisis in Cuba my sympathies are all with the heroic and patriotic Cubans, and I sincerely hope and believe they will succeed. Cuba must and will be free and independent, and, in my judgment, the end is near, the result inevitable, and the Cuban Republic will soon take its stand among the nations of the world.

In their battle for freedom and for independence every lover of liberty, every believer in free institutions, and every friend of the people who believes that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed should sympathize with the struggling Cubans and do all that they can to help them to bring about the realization of their hopes and aspirations.

OLD IRONSIDES.

DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!

Mr. Sulzer's Speech in Congress That Prevented the Destruction of the U. S. Frigate Constitution, December 19, 1905.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I introduced the following resolution, which I now send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Whereas, It has been published in the newspaper press of the country that the Secretary of the Navy has recommended the breaking up and destruction of one of the most famous historical relics of the United States, namely, the frigate *Constitution,* popularly known as 'Old Ironsides'; and

"Whereas, The patriotic people of the country regard such destruction of 'Old Ironsides' with sorrow and regret, and as an irreparable loss, because 'Old Ironsides' can never be replaced if destroyed; and they believe that if only one of her planks remains it should be sacredly saved and preserved as an historic relic; Therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to send to the House of Representatives as soon as possible all information upon the subject of the destruction of the frigate *Constitution,* popularly known as 'Old Ironsides,' and in the meantime to await such further action as the Congress may deem proper to take to prevent such destruction; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the President of the United States is

hereby requested to promptly intervene and recommend such measures as shall secure the permanent preservation of all that now remains of the frigate *Constitution* as one of the historical relics remaining to the people of the United States."

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, that is a patriotic resolution and it speaks for itself. I am in favor of it, and I believe it should pass this House without delay. It was introduced by me for the purpose of finding out, through the Secretary of the Navy, as soon as possible, just when, and how, and where, and why the Secretary of the Navy proposed or contemplated the destruction of the frigate *Constitution*, popularly known to the American people as "Old Ironsides," and what authority, if any, he has in the premises to destroy this historical relic of the American Navy.

The patriotic people of the country were very much surprised a short time ago when they read that the Secretary of the Navy proposed to destroy "Old Ironsides," the flagship of Hull and Preble, of Bainbridge, and of gallant Charles Stewart, the grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell. The Secretary said, if the reports in the newspapers are correct, and I doubt not they are, that this old frigate, the *Constitution*, now lying at Charlestown Navy Yard, in Boston Harbor, was of no earthly use, and the best thing that could be done with her was to tow her out to sea and make her a target for American naval gunners to shoot to pieces.

Think of it! Imagine, if you can, this official vandalism! It shocked public sentiment. It aroused American patriotism. I can hardly believe it to be true, but if it is true I trust the Secretary of the Navy has heard the indignant remonstrance and the patriotic protest which has rolled into Washington from every part of the country, and that he will do nothing further in the matter. His action has aroused the spirit of protest of the nation. The American people will never consent to the wanton destruction of the frigate *Constitution;* and, in fact, sir, I doubt if the Secretary of the Navy has any authority to order her demolition. She belongs to the people of the

United States, and they will never consent to destroy her; and the Secretary has no more right to destroy her than he has to order the destruction of this Capitol. I think that the Congress has something to say about what shall be done or not done with the people's property, and I hope the Secretary will refrain from further action in the premises until this Congress can act in the matter.

The fate of Old Ironsides is in our hands. She cannot be shot and sunk without our consent. We must stop this sacrilege. The venerable old frigate *Constitution* should not be destroyed. She is sacred to the American people, and as long as one of her timbers remains she should never be demolished. She was launched in the harbor of Boston in 1797. Her story on the sea is American history, and time cannot dim her greatness nor sully her glory. She belongs to Boston, and there let her rest in peace with the Stars and Stripes floating from her masthead until she shall crumble and rot away and be no more.

Once before, Mr. Speaker—a long time ago, away back in 1830—a former Secretary of the Navy proposed the destruction of "Old Ironsides." Is the present Secretary of the Navy familiar with that incident? Does he remember what then happened? Has he forgotten the storm of protests, the white heat of popular indignation, that aroused the people and stirred the very depths of American patriotism? The people then saved the *Constitution* and the storm of outraged popular sentiment subsided; but at its height there came a flash of poetic lightning, the inspiration of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote this poem on "Old Ironsides":

"Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!
Long has it waved on high,
And many an eye has danced to see
That banner in the sky.
Beneath it rung the battle shout
And burst the cannon's roar—
The meteor of the ocean air
Shall sweep the clouds no more.

"Her deck, once red with heroes' blood,
Where knelt the vanquished foe,
When winds were hurrying o'er the flood
And waves were white below,
No more shall feel the victor's tread
Or know the conquered knee—
The harpies of the shore shall pluck
The eagle of the sea!

"Oh, better that her shattered hulk
Should sink beneath the wave;
Her thunders shook the mighty deep,
And there should be her grave;
Nail to the mast her holy flag,
Set every threadbare sail,
And give her to the god of storms,
The lightning and the gale!"

That gem, sir, from the pen of dear old Doctor Holmes did much in the long ago to preserve "Old Ironsides." As I sat here to-day thinking about the action of our present Secretary my memory went back to that other time. It seemed like history repeating itself, and I wondered if our Naval Secretary—poor benighted man—had ever read that patriotic poem by one of America's most gifted authors. But no matter; suffice it now for me to say that from that day down to the present no sacrilegious hand has ever been raised to strike a blow against "Old Ironsides."

Mr. Speaker, this may be a practical age, but American sentiment is not dead, and it is well that there is enough left to arouse the people in protest against destroying in a most unpatriotic way the gallant old ship *Constitution*. If only a sentimental value is left of all her greatness, it is enough to save her, and it is a very beautiful sentiment, and one altogether creditable to the hearts of the American people. This sentiment fights our battles, wins our victories, and preserves our liberties. Sentiment—deep-rooted, patriotic sentiment—is the very life of every progressive people, and I trust the

day will never come in our land when it will slumber so soundly that an act of vandalism cannot arouse it to protest and to action. The doom of the Republic will be knelled when American sentiment dies.

So, sir, I say that for sentimental and patriotic reasons the frigate *Constitution* must not be destroyed. No act of vandalism must ever profane "Old Ironsides." Her glorious ensign must never be hauled down. She is the most valuable relic historically, and the most priceless possession to-day, in the American Navy. No wonder the patriotic people of New England, and elsewhere, were grieved and shocked when they learned that the Secretary of the Navy, in the most matter-of-fact way, intended to have this historic old ship of war towed out to sea and shot at for a target—shot to death with American gunpowder and by the Navy she made possible and did so much to embellish. But it shall never happen—perish the thought—because I believe I voice the patriotic feelings of all true Americans everywhere when I say we shall never give up the ship—we shall never destroy "Old Ironsides."

Mr. Speaker, just a few words more, and I am done. I want to say, in conclusion, that I am a friend of the American Navy. I glory in its brilliant and illustrious achievements. In every war and on every sea its valor and its heroism have illumined the pages of American history. There is no blot on its heraldic shield. The patriotic soul of every school boy in America has been fired by the valor, the bravery, and the glory of our naval heroes. Their motto is, and was, and ever will be, "Don't give up the ship!" and we, the Representatives of the American people in Congress, re-echoing that heroic and patriotic sentiment, send greetings to our constituencies, and notice to the Secretary of the Navy, that we won't give up the ship; that we won't sacrifice "Old Ironsides"; that we won't destroy the *Constitution* —the oldest and the grandest and the proudest ship that ever nailed her colors to the mast in all the glorious annals of the American Navy.

FOR THE CHARLESTON EXPOSITION.

Speech in Congress, March 2, 1901.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I am on record in favor of expositions. I voted for the Omaha Exposition, for the Pan-American Exposition, for the St. Louis Exposition, and I shall vote in favor of the Charleston Exposition. I like the people of the South; I believe in them, in their future, and I want to help them demonstrate to the world in an educational way their greatness, their commerce, their industries, their progress, and their material resources.

In my judgment, this exposition is most desirable and will do incalculable good. It will astonish many, and rivet the attention of America on the New South, with its innumerable opportunities, its untold wealth, and its myriad possibilities. Give the New South a chance, and the result will be as surprising as the vast amount of invaluable information disseminated will be beneficial.

This, sir, is not a local or a sectional matter. It will help and benefit our whole country. I dissent from the provincial and narrow view taken by some gentlemen on this question. The Columbian Exposition at Chicago did more for this country in different ways than the most eloquent tongue can ever portray.

Every exposition ever held in this country has been a great national blessing that has made for peace, for progress, and for civilization. We spend yearly millions and millions of dollars for useless objects and worthless matters, but when a few thousand dollars are asked for educational purposes, for the benefit of humanity, for the diffusion of information, some cheeseparing statesman gravely arises and and in sepulchral tones objects.

SPEECH TO REPEAL THE WAR TAXES.

In Congress, December 15, 1900.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the war act of 1898, which imposed more taxation, was an emergency measure. It was passed hurriedly and without much consideration to raise immediate money for the purpose of successfully prosecuting the Spanish-American war. It was a war measure, and it was so described at that time by the leaders of the Republican party in this House, who gave assurances to the country that just so soon as the war was over these war taxes would be repealed.

The war has been over for more than two years and the Republican party is just now partially reducing the war taxes. I am opposed to a continuance of these war taxes in time of peace. They are obnoxious and vexatious, and should be repealed. In my judgment they could be repealed without causing a deficit. But if gentlemen on the other side believe otherwise and claim more revenue is necessary, not for an economical administration of public affairs, but for the purpose of carrying out political schemes—some of which you now have under advisement—then, I say, that instead of raising the revenue from the poor, from the producers and the consumers of the country, you should raise this additional revenue by a tax on idle wealth. That would be more equitable, and more consistent. We must tax idle wealth—not overburdened work.

I am opposed to robbing the many for the benefit of the few. I am opposed to unjust and unnecessary taxation. The war tax law is the worst kind of special legislation, and the bill now under consideration is a species of this special legislation carried to its logical sequence.

It cannot be justified now; it could only be tolerated in time of war; and I am of the opinion that the people of the country will be sadly disappointed by the action of this House. They expected you to keep your promise and repeal these burdensome war taxes.

Mr. Speaker, all legislation bestowing special privileges on the few is unjust and against the masses. It has gone on until less than 8 per cent. of the people own more than two-thirds of all the wealth of our country. It has been truly said that monarchies are destroyed by poverty and republics by wealth. If the greatest Republic the world has ever seen is destroyed, it will fall by reason of this vicious system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few.

The total population of the United States is about 75,000,000. The total aggregate wealth of the United States, according to the best statistics that can be procured, is estimated at about $75,000,000,000; and it appears, and no doubt much to the surprise of many, that out of a total population of 75,000,000 less than 25,000 persons in the United States own more than one-half of the entire aggregate wealth of the land. And this has all been brought about during the last twenty-five years by special legislation.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller and smaller every year.

I am in favor of repealing the war taxes and making the idle wealth of the land pay its just share of the burdens of government. This can easily be done by a graduated corporation tax that will reach the dividends of the great industrial interstate commerce corporations, and by a graduated income tax that will reach the accumulated wealth of the land.

I am in favor of making the idle wealth of the country do by law what the producers and the consumers do,

and that is pay their just share of the expenses of the Government.

By a graduated corporation tax and a graduated income tax we would lift in great part the tax burdens from the farmers, the workingmen, and the consumers and place them where they justly belong.

In my judgment an equitable system of a graduated income tax and a graduated corporation tax is the fairest, the most honest, and the most popular system of taxation that can be devised; and I believe if it were put into operation that it would pay more than one-half the annual expenses of the Government.

THANKS TO MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.

Speech in Congress, February 20, 1909.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, before the motion is put I want to say just a word. It is well known that recently the Congress passed a bill, which is now a law, to accept the substantial gift of Mrs. Russell Sage of Constitution Island, in the Hudson River, and that the same be made a part of the military reservation at West Point. At that time I thought that, on account of the great value of that donation, the least the Congress could do would be to record a vote of thanks to Mrs. Sage. For some reason this was not done. I for one think that omission was a mistake. Mrs. Sage is to-day doing a noble work in the world. She is an example of what a rich woman with noble impulses can accomplish for good. She is doing a most commendable and beneficent work along charitable and humanitarian lines. She is entitled not only to the thanks of the Congress for the gift to the Government of Constitution Island, but, in my opinion, she is entitled to the praise of every true American for the great and the glorious work she is doing for humanity. God bless Mrs. Sage! God spare her life to do good for many, many years to come!

ON THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

Speech in Congress, June 14, 1898.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the question of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands is not a new one. For more than half a century it has been considered by our ablest thinkers and advocated by the leading statesmen in our country. Years and years ago it was seen that sooner or later the islands would come to us and would be ours. All our history teaches this. A few years ago, when the monarchy died and the Republic of Hawaii reared its head among the nations of the world, all far-seeing men knew it was only a question of a little while when she would come to us and ask us to make her a part of our domain. The time is at hand and we intend to grant her request. We know, and the people out there know, that a little state like Hawaii cannot stand alone among her great competitors, all of whom covet her incomparable harbor, her rich and fertile lands, her salubrious climate, her commercial position and resources, and her invaluable natural strategical advantages. She must have the protection of this country or some other great power. So she comes to us in her helplessness and we gladly bid her welcome.

Another thing, sir, I desire to say at this time, and that is that this question is not a party question. It never was a party question, and it never ought to be made a party question. There should be no politics in this matter. It is a question of American statesmanship and American patriotism; nothing more, nothing less. If it can be made a party question at all, it is a Democratic one. The first man in this country to favor Hawaiian annexation, years and years ago, was that great Demo-

crat from the State of New York, William L. Marcy, the greatest Secretary of State this country has ever had since the days of Thomas Jefferson. He saw the advantages of our acquiring these islands away back in the early days of the Republic. And since his day every Democratic Administration save one has done all it could to bring these islands under the sovereignty of this country.

But, sir, even if the annexation of these islands required a larger Navy, I would still cast my vote for annexation. I believe in the Navy. Ever since I have been in Congress I have advocated and voted for all measures in the interest of the Navy. In my opinion, we want, and must have, a navy that will be large enough to protect our shores at home and our citizens and our interests in every foreign land. Who is there here to-day who will belittle our Navy? We are proud of it, proud of its past, and we have every reason to believe we will be proud of its future. We need a strong navy. We ought to have as good a navy as any nation in the world. We must build up our merchant marine. We must carry American goods in American ships and under the American flag. There was a day when the sails of our ships were seen on every ocean and our flag in every harbor of the world. That day will come again, and the policy we contemplate to-day will hasten it.

There is another reason why I favor the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. The day, in my judgment, is not far distant when this Government must build the Nicaragua Canal. That will shorten the distance to the Pacific possessions more than one-third. The trip of the *Oregon* has demonstrated that the canal across the Isthmus must be built as quickly as possible. It should have been built long ago. We must build it with our own money, we must own it ourselves, and we must hold it and manage it ourselves.

I will always do all in my power to foster, to build up, to develop, and to extend our commercial industries. To do otherwise would be short-sighted and unpatriotic. The commerce of a nation makes it rich and great. Asia and Africa and the East Indies are being opened up and

developed to-day, and we must look to the Orient to get our share of its trade and commerce. We know to-day that we cannot successfully compete with England, France and Germany in the manufacture of many goods that are sold in Europe.

They have the markets there, and they hold the markets there. They are great manufacturing countries, and they can manufacture materials just as cheap if not cheaper than we can. They pay, as a general thing, less wages than we do, and their workmen and artisans labor more hours a day. We, too, are a great manufacturing country. We must find a market for our surplus goods. What we cannot sell in Europe we must find a market for in Central and South America, in Asia and Africa, in the East Indies and the South Seas. There is no doubt our merchants are aware of it and alive to its great advantages and rich opportunities. On account of time, distance, and the cheapness of transportation, the advantages are all with us for profitable trade and commerce in the Pacific.

Let me say to the business men of America, Look to the land of the setting sun, look to the Pacific! There are teeming millions there who will ere long want to be fed and clothed the same as we are. There is the great market that the continental powers are to-day struggling for. We must not be distanced in the race for the commerce of the world. In my judgment, during the next hundred years the great volume of trade and commerce, so far as this country is concerned, will not be eastward, but will be westward; will not be across the Atlantic, but will be across the broad Pacific. The Hawaiian Islands will be the key that will unlock to us the commerce of the Orient, and in a commercial sense make us rich and prosperous.

To-day we are confronted with this situation: The people of the Hawaiian Islands, through their duly elected officers, petition us for annexation. They have a little Republic away out there on the Pacific, and they believe they should become, and they want to become, a part of the great Republic of the United States. They ask us to take them under the protection of the Stars

and Stripes. Shall we accept the magnificent gift they offer or shall we refuse it? Looking at this question from every standpoint, I say for one we should accept. Why should we hesitate? Why should we not welcome them to the protection of the great Republic?

THE FINAL APPROPRIATION TO RAISE THE MAINE.

Speech in Congress of Mr. Sulzer, December 16, 1911.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I favor this additional appropriation to complete the work of raising the wreck of the *Maine,* I hope it will be the last money required for the purpose. It has cost the taxpayers of the country considerable to do what they desired to be done in this matter, but I know they do not begrudge what it has cost.

I am the author of the legislation in Congress to raise the wreck of the *Maine,* and its accomplishment now demonstrates beyond peradventure what I asserted many times in the past on this floor, that the battleship *Maine* was destroyed in the harbor of Habana on that memorable night in February, 1898, by an external explosion. The unanimous report of the board of inquiry, now before Congress, is conclusive in the matter. The truth of the matter is worth all that it has cost. History can now be written.

The wreck of the *Maine* will soon be removed from the harbor of Havana, where it is a menace to navigation. We owe it to ourselves and to the maritime nations of the earth that this be done. We could not permit any other nation to do this work. It was incumbent upon us to do it, and its satisfactory completion is worth all that it has cost.

But, sir, more than all this, let me say, there were more than 63 bodies of our heroic sailors entombed in the hulk of that wreck which had never been recovered. As the work progressed I understand that 65 remains have been found and brought back to this country to be buried with their gallant comrades in the national ceme-

tery at Arlington. To recover these bodies was a duty this Government owed to the memory of its gallant defenders and to the sentiment of patriotism alive in the land, which, I trust, will never die in America.

All the money it has cost to raise the *Maine* has been well spent and no one in this country, in my judgment, regrets it. Our Government has now done its full duty to the maritime nations of the world, to the memory of our heroic sailors who sacrificed their lives on the altar of their country, and, last, but not least, to the eternal truth of history. The last act in the tragedy of the Spanish-American War is ended.

IN FAVOR OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress, February 20, 1905.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I am now, always have been, and always expect to be a friend of the American Navy. It is the strongest arm of our national defense in time of war, and the best guaranty of our lasting peace. It is national insurance, and every dollar spent for the Navy is economy in the long run.

As a friend of the American Navy, voicing, as I believe, the deliberate judgment of my constituents, I am in favor of the provision in this bill for the construction of two new battle ships. I do not believe there is an intelligent man in the country who has looked into this matter and has studied the true situation that is opposed to the appropriation for these two new battle ships. I do not understand how a Representative from New York City, or from any other great city on our Atlantic, Gulf or Pacific coasts can vote against these two battle ships or can oppose the judicious increase of the American Navy. We know how the people of New York and other seaport towns felt at the beginning of the Spanish-American war.

There are no politics in the Navy or in continuing its efficiency. It is a non-partisan question, and every true American, no matter what his opinion may be regarding the Army, is in favor of increasing our Navy until we have one of the strongest and one of the best navies in the world. To strike out of this bill one of these battle ships would be naval retrogression. It would be a step backwards in our naval policy. The American Navy is growing. I want to see it continue to grow until we have a navy second to none in the world. It will

be money well spent in the end, and it will be economy in the right direction. The American people, in my judgment, do not want to stop the growth of their Navy. I believe the Members of this House by adhering to the provisions in this bill for two new battle ships will only meet the just expectations of their constituents.

The American people take a just pride in the Navy. They have every reason to be proud of it, to be proud of its past, to be proud of it now, and to be hopeful of its future. The Navy is one of America's greatest institutions—a bulwark of defense, a mighty engine of offense—and should be liberally supported by the Congress of the United States by generous appropriations. Every dollar spent on the Navy is just so much money expended for insurance. A better investment could not be made.

The most unthinking individual in the country realizes how important it is for the Government to have a strong, a great and a mighty navy. We have a larger and more vulnerable seaboard than any other country in the world. We will soon, I believe, have a great merchant marine. We have great cities of immense wealth, of costly buildings, of commerce, and of property, the value of which is incalculable, all along our seacoasts. They must and should be all protected, and they can not be better protected, better safeguarded than by a modern and an efficient navy.

I shall vote for these two additional battle ships. I have never voted to cripple the Navy and I never shall. I am in favor of increasing the power, the strength, the tonnage, and the efficiency of the American Navy. I know how nervous the merchants in New York felt when a Spanish war vessel crossed the Atlantic and anchored in New York Bay just before war was declared against Spain. The people of my city are now, ever have been, and, in my judgment, ever will be, in favor of doing everything in their power to keep up the efficiency and continue the gradual increase of the Navy. The American Navy is growing. We must do nothing to stop that growth.

FOR THE PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

Speech in Congress, May 16, 1908.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. Its purpose is to compensate Government employees engaged in hazardous occupations in case they are injured. It is a step in the right direction, and I hope the bill will pass unanimously. It has been adopted in European countries, and it should be the law in this country. In many things along these lines we are behind the age. The only criticism that I can make in regard to the provisions of the bill is that it does not go far enough to suit me. If I had my way, I would provide that every employee of the Government engaged in hazardous pursuits should have the benefits of the terms of this bill. Why only include those engaged in certain departments of the Government? Why not include those engaged in hazardous employment in every department of the Government? They should all be included. It is only fair and just and proper. I will go as far as any man in Congress in enacting legislation to protect Government employees. The honest, the industrious, and the faithful employees of the Government are entitled to this consideration. The bill should be amended to include all the employees of Uncle Sam engaged in dangerous occupations. If the House had the opportunity to consider this bill as it ought to be considered, on its merits, I know there are enough Members in the House to vote to amend the bill so that it will provide some protection for all the employees of the Government. However, that cannot be done under the rule. This is the best we can get now, and I shall vote for the bill, and hope it will pass and become a law before we adjourn.

STATEHOOD FOR ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

Speech in Congress, February 15, 1909.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion it is a matter of sincere congratulation to all friends of home rule that at last Arizona and New Mexico are to be admitted to all the rights of sovereign States. In population, in natural resources, and by every principle of our free institutions they are justly entitled to statehood. For years and years I have been advocating this fundamental right, and I am glad that finally it has come, so far as the House is concerned; and I indulge the hope that the other branch of the Congress will also respond to public sentiment and speedily pass this bill and make it a law before we finally adjourn. I also indulge the gratifying hope that when these two Territories become full-fledged States in the Union our distinguished colleague, Mr. Smith, and some other good Democrat will be the Senators from Arizona; and that our distinguished colleague, Mr. Andrews, and my good friend, Governor Curry, who is with us to-day, will be the first two Senators from New Mexico; provided, of course, that the Republicans control the legislature.

So let us all rejoice that the last two Territories are now to be made in all respects sister States, with all the rights that it implies, and in this connection I desire to say there is one other right that is near and dear to my heart, and that is home rule for Alaska, local self-government for Alaska—the grandest country on earth, the wonderland of the world, the richest asset in Uncle Sam's domains—and I hope the next Congress will grant Alaska territorial government, with all the rights ever possessed by any Territory.

THE RUSSIAN PASSPORT QUESTION.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH IN CONGRESS,

December 13, 1911, in Support of His Resolution to Abrogate the Treaty with Russia.

Mr. SULZER (when the Committee on Foreign Affairs was called) said:

Mr. Speaker, I call up House joint resolution 166, providing for the termination of the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"House joint resolution 166, providing for the termination of the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia.

"*Resolved, etc.*, That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the Government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg December 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens, on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest

possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the Government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the Government of Russia."

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, the joint resolution just read by the Clerk of the House of Representatives speaks for itself and demands the abrogation of the Russian treaty concluded in St. Petersburg in 1832, because for nearly half a century Russia has persistently refused to abide by its terms and recognize passports of American citizens without discrimination.

Treaties between nations should be free from ambiguity regarding the rights of their respective citizens to visit and sojourn in the country of each other, and should admit of no discrimination in favor of some citizens and against other citizens of either of the high contracting parties. It is customary among the nations of the world to recognize without discrimination the passports of each, when duly issued and authenticated, to their respective citizens who desire to travel in other countries.

The question now before the Congress of the United States regarding this "Russian passport question" resolves itself into this: Has Russia by the treaty of 1832 agreed to recognize American passports without discrimination?

To determine the matter it is necessary to read the provision in the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia. Article 1 of that treaty reads as follows:

"There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation. The inhabitants of their respective States shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places, and rivers of the territories of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said terri-

tories, in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside."

This provision of the treaty seems to be plain and clear, and gives citizens of the United States—

"the right to sojourn and reside in all parts of Russia in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside."

A treaty is the supreme law of the land, and Mr. Justice Field, of the United States Supreme Court, laid down the construction of treaties in Geofroy *v.* Riggs (133 U. S., 271), in which he said:

"It is a general principle of construction with respect to treaties that they shall be liberally construed, so as to carry out the apparent intent of the parties to secure equality and reciprocity between them. As they are contracts between independent nations, in their construction, words are to be taken in their ordinary meaning, as understood in the public law of nations, and not in any artificial or special sense impressed upon them by local law, unless such restricted sense is clearly intended. And it has been held by this court that where a treaty admits of two constructions, one restrictive of rights that may be claimed under it and the other favorable to them, the latter is to be preferred."

The treaty with Russia regarding the rights of our people to travel and sojourn in Russia is clear and explicit. By virtue of its terms I am certain that no discrimination can be made against any American citizen desiring to visit Russia on account of race or religion; and when Russia makes this discrimination she violates the treaty and perpetrates an act unfriendly to the people of the United States. We cannot tolerate this injustice to some of our citizens, this violation of treaty stipulations, this race prejudice, and this religious dis-

crimination. It is foreign to the fundamental principles of our free institutions and contrary to everything for which civilization stands at the dawn of the twentieth century.

We assert that the Government of the United States has carefully lived up to its treaty obligations with Russia. We have granted to every Russian coming to this country all the rights stipulated in the treaty, irrespective of race or religion. That is our construction of the treaty of 1832 and demonstrates the intention of the United States Government in its conclusion.

American citizens should have the same rights to visit and sojourn in Russia that Russian citizens have to visit and sojourn in the United States. If they do not, then the treaty is violated and it ought to be abrogated.

The refusal of Russia to recognize American passports on account of race and religion is a clear violation, in my judgment, of the treaty, and the remaining question is one of remedy only.

The first duty of our Government is to protect the rights of its citizens at home and abroad. All that is required on the part of the United States is a firm determination to do its duty to all its citizens, to do it at all times, and to do it in all places. The seal of the United States on a certificate of citizenship should render it valid and make it acceptable by all countries at its face value throughout the entire world. Our guarantee should be good.

All argument based on the possible financial injury that may be done to those Americans who have business interests in Russia dwindles into mere nothingness when we consider that human rights and national honor are at stake. It is confidently believed that American citizens will not listen with equanimity to any suggestion which places the dollar above the man. Who can be patient when, under existing conditions, we are compelled to record the ignominious fact that during the past summer the proprietor of one of the most influential Jewish newspapers published in New York, who expressed a desire to go to Russia, was refused visé of his passport by the Russian consul at New York, but had no difficulty

in procuring such visé from the Russian consul in London?

Diplomacy of the highest order has been employed in vain to bring about a change of policy on the part of the Russian Government. Both of the great political parties of this country, ever since 1904, in their national platforms declared that it is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and have pledged themselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all of our citizens abroad, and have declared themselves in favor of all efforts tending to that end. They have further pledged themselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of our laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties of friendship and commerce.

On October 19, 1908, Senator Root, then Secretary of State, in a letter to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, referring to the same subject, declared that our Government had never varied in its insistence upon equality of treatment for all American citizens who seek to enter Russia with passports, without regard to creed or race, and that the administration has repeatedly brought the matter to the attention of the Russian Government and urged the making of a new treaty for the purpose of regulating the subject. The communication concludes:

"We have but very recently received an unfavorable reply to this proposal, and we have now communicated to Russia an expression of the desire of this Government for the complete revision and amendment of the treaty of 1832, which provides for reciprocal rights of residence and travel on the part of the citizens of the two countries. We have expressed our views that such a course would be preferable to the complete termination of the treaty, subjecting both countries to the possibility

of being left without any reciprocal rights whatever, owing to the delay in the making of a new treaty."

Seven years have passed since both political parties have made these declarations of principle; three years have passed since this pointed statement of our State Department, and yet conditions are exactly the same as they were 40 years ago, there has been absolutely no progress in negotiation, the efforts of diplomacy have proven futile, and the same discrimination among our citizens continues.

There has thus been inflicted, and continues to be inflicted, a shameless affront upon the honor of our country and upon the integrity of American citizenship. The insult is not upon the individuals as to whom there has been discrimination, but against the entire body of American citizens, because a wrong done to one in his capacity as a citizen is a wrong inflicted upon every citizen.

Our Government has been extremely patient and remarkably resourceful, yet there is nothing to indicate that anything can be accomplished by a continuance of the methods thus far employed. Russia believes that our Government has not been serious, and that its efforts have been ceremonial rather than real. The time has come at last when more decisive action is required, otherwise there will be good reasons for asserting that certain classes of our citizens who have been singled out by Russia are under civil disabilities with the implied sanction of our Government.

From a careful and an unprejudiced investigation of all the circumstances in this controversy, it seems evident to me, and it must be apparent to every sensible and fair-minded person, that when the treaty with Russia was concluded it was the intention of Russia and the United States that the rights granted by Article I of that treaty should extend equally to every citizen of this country without discrimination of any kind whatsoever.

This being so, it is self-evident from the record in the case that Russia has for years continually violated this provision of the treaty by refusing to recognize pass-

ports granted to American citizens on account of race or religion.

This is not a Jewish question. It is an American question. It involves a great principle. It affects the rights of all American citizens. Russia not only refuses to recognize American passports held by Jews on account of their race or their religion but she also refuses, when she sees fit, to recognize American passports held by Baptist missionaries, Catholic priests and Presbyterian divines, on account of their religious belief.

The Government of the United States declares as a fundamental principle that all men are equal before the law regardless of race or religion, and makes no distinction based on the creeds or the birthplaces of its citizens in this connection, nor can it consistently permit such distinctions to be made by a foreign power. We solemnly assert, and must maintain, that the rights of our citizens at home or abroad shall not be impaired on account of race or religion.

Not the religion, nor the race of a man, but his American citizenship is the true test of the treatment he shall receive and the rights he shall enjoy under the law at home and abroad. This is fundamental. We must adhere to it tenaciously.

Freedom of religious belief—the right to worship our Maker according to the dictates of our conscience—is one of the cornerstones of our free institutions, and so jealous of this liberty were the fathers that they wrote in the Federal Constitution:

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

We must maintain this great principle of religious freedom inviolate forever.

Mr. Speaker, what action should the Congress of the United States take in this matter? I have given much thought to this inquiry and have finally concluded that the best thing we can do to remedy this injustice to American citizens is to serve the usual official notice of 12 months on Russia that we desire to abrogate the

treaty of 1832, and that at the expiration of the notice, given in accordance with the terms of the treaty, it shall be null and void.

We must be true to the great principles of justice and freedom and equality on which our Government is founded. We must not connive at the discrimination of any American citizen on account of his race or his religion or permit any foreign power to discriminate against him for these reasons. To do so belittles our dignity, is an insult to every American, and makes our boast of equal rights to all a hollow mockery.

Russia must recognize American passports without discrimination on account of race or religion, or the Russian treaty should be abrogated. Our self-respect demands it. The memories of the past dictate it; our hope for the future commands it. No other course is open to the United States, and for this Government to submit longer to the violation by Russia of the treaty is a humiliation to our sense of justice and to our love for our fellow man that merits the condemnation of every patriotic citizen in America.

We are a patient and a long-suffering people where the question involved does not touch us on our tenderest spot—our pocketbooks; but the patriotic awakening has come at last, and with it a keen realization of the affronts we have suffered for years at the hands of a Government notorious for its lack of human sympathy.

This is not a partisan question. It is an American matter. In a dignified way we say to Russia we give you the official notice provided for in the treaty to abrogate the same, because you have violated it—because it is obsolete—and we want to negotiate a new treaty with you in harmony with the spirit of the times; and we say to all the world in calmness and in deliberation, the Government of the United States puts human rights above commercial gain in writing treaty contracts with the powers of the earth.

Mr. Speaker, this joint resolution introduced by me has been unanimously reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House, and I congratulate my colleagues on the committee for their expedition and

their broad-minded patriotism in the matter. Behind this resolution is an overwhelming case of treaty violation, as conclusive in its details as it is incontrovertible in its proofs.

Nevertheless, in adopting to-day this resolution to abrogate the Russian treaty we but follow precedent. We do nothing new, nothing startling, nothing offensive. We assert a fundamental principle, act advisedly on a vested privilege, declare that human rights are more important than commercial rights for the welfare of a free and a progressive people, and invoke the impartial judgment of every liberty-loving and right-thinking citizen in our country on the justification of our action in the premises.

The press and the pupil, the bench and the bar, the Jew and the Gentile, the poor and the rich, the weak and the powerful, the Catholic and the Protestant throughout patriotic America demand that the Russian treaty be abrogated. The people are aroused about the matter as they never have been before over the question, and the time for action by the Congress has come.

There can be no arbitration of this elemental principle of our Government; there must be no more delay; the matter must be settled now and for all time, and a new treaty hereafter negotiated in which Russia can find no loophole to enable her in the future to discriminate against any American citizen on account of race or religion; a new treaty that will be up to date; that will be in harmony with the twentieth century; that will be in sympathy with human rights; that will not override our Federal Constitution; that will not violate our national ideals; and that will not dishonor the virtue and the integrity of the passports of our splendid and intelligent and patriotic American citizenship.

THE RUSSIAN PASSPORT QUESTION.

MR. SULZER'S SECOND SPEECH ON SAME SUBJECT.

In the House of Representatives, December 20, 1911.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the joint resolution of the House No. 166, with Senate amendments thereto.

The Senate amendments were read.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I now move to concur in the Senate amendments to House joint resolution 166, introduced by me, to terminate the Russian treaty of 1832, and I desire to be heard upon that motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves to concur in the Senate amendments of House joint resolution 166, and is entitled to one hour under the rule.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, on account of the limited time at our disposal ere adjournment for the holiday recess and in view of the fact that a year will be lost in the termination of the treaty of 1832 with Russia unless action be taken on the pending motion to-day, and for more substantial reasons of state, I have moved to concur in the Senate amendments to House joint resolution 166, introduced by me, to terminate the treaty of 1832 with Russia. I hope the House will adopt this motion and again prove that it can rise above partisanship and on an occasion of international moment be truly American.

I want to say to the House now what I have said to individual Members heretofore, that so long as I am the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives I shall never stoop to play

petty politics with a matter concerning our relations with a foreign government. I put patriotism above party policy; the good of all the people ahead of political expediency.

So in justice to the House I should say that in the framing and the adoption of our resolution to terminate the antiquated Russian treaty of 1832 we cared more for the substance than we did for the mere form. We were not seeking glory but results. We wanted to terminate the Russian treaty, and we went about it in the most direct way by telling the truth as we knew the truth. I believe that truth is mighty and will prevail in every cause, and in this case the results sought certainly have been achieved quicker than we expected.

What are the facts? For 40 years every Secretary of State has wrestled with this Russian passport question and accomplished little. For 40 years every President has endeavored to achieve something in regard to this matter without avail. In four days the House of Representatives accomplished just what was desired. That shows what can be done if you want to do it and know how to do it.

We rise superior to partisanship now that we have won what we wanted, and say we will accept the Senate amendments. We are not interested in the technicalities of the words of the resolution, but in the termination of the treaty. We have achieved that. I am content. We should be satisfied with the result; but in justice to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and to the membership of this House, I want to say now, and I measure my words, that Russia made no protest, directly or indirectly, against the adoption of the resolution which passed the House of Representatives last Wednesday by a vote of 300 to 1. [Applause.] We need never apologize for that resolution. No true American will apologize for it.

Mr. HARRISON rose.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from New York yield to his colleague?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; a little later on. I do not care to yield at present. As an evidence of the fact that Rus-

sia made no protest, I need only say to those familiar with the customs of diplomacy that the Russian Government would be acting contrary to all precedents to do anything of that character. It would be in violation of all diplomatic usages; and besides, if the Government of Russia had done anything so at variance with polite diplomatic practice, it was the duty of the executive branch of the Government to communicate it to the legislative branch of the Government, which had the matter under consideration. As a matter of fact, the House resolution was not offensive to Russia, and that Government took no exception to its phraseology.

For the purpose of the record I want to read the resolution of the House. It declared:

"That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the Government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia concluded at St. Petersburg December 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens, on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the Government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the Government of Russia."

That resolution speaks for itself. As the author of it, I submit no amends; I offer no apologies; but I call the

attention of the country to the fact that there is not a line in it requesting the President to communicate the identical resolution to the Russian Government. Some of the newspapers erred about this phase of the question. The resolution said in its last two lines that the Congress terminated the treaty and that—

"the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the Government of Russia."

What notice? That the treaty be terminated in accordance with its terms. Therefore I say again that all of the stories in the newspapers, which emanated from a source to which I do not care to refer at the present time, for good and sufficient reasons, regarding the attitude of the Russian Government in opposition to this resolution on account of its form, had no foundation in fact. Suffice it for me to reiterate that the House resolution expressed the overwhelming sentiment of the people of this country, and to the credit of their Representatives be it said that this House responded to that popular sentiment and passed the resolution by a vote of 300 to 1.

Sometimes, Mr. Speaker, it is a good thing for us to pause in our legislative duties regarding trade interests and commercial rights and devote a day or two to human interests and the rights of American citizens at home and abroad. I stand to-day as I always have stood in the past, and as I always hope to stand in the future, in Congress or out of Congress, for equal rights to all and special privileges to none—for the dignity of American citizenship here and everywhere. If I believe in anything, I believe in the doctrine of the great Scotch bard, Bobby Burns:

"A man's a man for a' that."

And, sir, I am glad to say that years ago the Congress of the United States said more in a statute than this resolution affirms, when it passed the act of 1868, being sections 1999 and 2000 of the United States Revised Statutes. In order that it may be heard again in this House,

and in order that it may go upon the record, I send it to the Clerk's desk and ask to have it read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Sec. 1999. Whereas the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and whereas, in the recognition of this principle, this Government has freely received emigrants from all nations and invested them with the rights of citizenship; and whereas it is claimed that such American citizens, with their descendants, are subject of foreign States, owing allegiance to the Governments thereof; and whereas it is necessary to the maintenance of public peace that this claim of foreign allegiance should be promptly and finally disavowed: Therefore any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions the right of expatriation is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic.

"Sec. 2000. All naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

Mr. Speaker, that act was passed in 1868. It is the law of the land to-day and my resolution passed by the House simply reaffirmed it. Almost every Government on earth has now recognized our doctrine of expatriation except the Russian Government. By virtue of the treaty of 1832 Russia still adheres to the doctrine of indefeasible allegiance, which means once a Russian subject always a Russian subject. We can not admit that. The time has come when every Government must recognize the American doctrine of expatriation. The law of 1868 means just what it says.

The passage of that act by Congress was substantially a repeal of that portion of the treaty of 1832 with Russia in which the doctrine of indefeasible allegiance is enunciated. So much for that.

Now, let me be fair and just to all and take up a few things in connection with the pending proposition which perhaps need to be cleared up for the truth of history. What are the facts? The House of Represntatives on Wednesday, the 13th day of December, passed House joint resolution 166, to terminate the Russian treaty of 1832. On Thursday, the 14th day of December, that resolution was presented to the Senate and was referred by the Vice President to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee on Foreign Relations had the House resolution under consideration. On the 17th day of December—last Sunday—four days after the House passed the resolution and while it was pending in the Senate, the President sent a cable to the American ambassador at St. Petersburg directing him to present the formal notice, mentioned in the House resolution, to the Russian Government to the effect that the United States desired to terminate the treaty of 1832.

On Monday, the 18th day of December, the President sent to the Senate a message regarding this subject, and in that message says, among other things, that he directed the American ambassador at St. Petersburg to say to the Russian Government that it—

"Will recall the fact that this ancient treaty, as is quite natural, is no longer fully responsive in various respects to the needs of the political and material relations of the two countries, which grow constantly more important. The treaty has also given rise from time to time to certain controversies, equally regretted by both Governments."

Before this communication to the Senate on Monday, the 18th instant, was read the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported House joint resolution 166 with the amendments which have been read at the Clerk's desk. On Tuesday, the 19th instant, the Senate passed the resolution amended. It is now before us for concurrence. The story is plain. No one will misunderstand its significance. No comment from me is necessary. I do not want to say a word of criticism of any

official. This matter is international. It concerns human rights. It rises to the dignity of being above political advantage. I have put it on a higher plane than partisanship. I shall keep it there. I want no glory; I strive for results; but we can not fail to understand the significance of these dates and what they mean.

The people of the country will not fail to understand. They know the House of Representatives, responding to the popular sentiment and the patriotic desire of America, passed on Wednesday, the 13th of December, the resolution to terminate the Russian treaty; that the President on Sunday, December the 17th, acted upon the resolution of the House, ignoring the Senate, which had the matter under consideration; that then the President on Monday, the 18th of December, ignoring the House of Representatives which had passed the resolution, sent a message to the Senate asking that body to ratify his action in sending the official notice to the Russian Government in accordance with the resolution passed by the House; that then the Senate on Monday, December the 18th, ignored the President by reporting the House resolution with an amendment, so that both branches of Congress could ratify the President's sudden action and legally terminate the treaty. I could quote a famous couplet about the President's action—but then what is the use, the House has won and we should be content.

Mr. Speaker, the record tells the story. The House emerges gracefully and has won triumphantly. The country will understand why the President acted so suddenly in notifying Russia that the United States terminated the treaty of 1832 in accordance with the House resolution, and many will wonder and keep on wondering until the end of the next campaign why, if he had the power to do what he did—and many doubt it—why, I say, did he wait so long to do it? However, let that go. But I want to repeat now what I said before, that I never had any vanity in the authorship of the House resolution which bears my name to terminate the Russian treaty. My friends know I am above little things like that. Nevertheless, I did have some pride in the phraseology of the resolution, because it stated the truth,

and I believe the truth will prevail in every cause. It has in this case, at all events.

No true American is afraid of the truth. Besides, my resolution enunciated great fundamental principles of the rights of citizenship, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, which I believe to be the time-honored policy of our country, and in order that there should never be any question about it in the future I was anxious to have the resolution written upon our statute books. The action of the House in this matter, however, will stand as a landmark for all time to come, and it voiced beyond the peradventure of doubt the overwhelming sentiment of the liberty-loving people of our country.

What has been done by the House of Representatives and the President and the Senate speaks for itself and is now history. The battle for equal rights to all our citizens, at home and abroad, is won. The result the House sought is accomplished. Why quibble? Let us rather rejoice with every friend of freedom in the victory for humanity achieved through the agency of the House of Representatives. The Russian treaty of 1832 will soon be terminated; the dignity of an American passport vindicated; and equality of all American citizens at home and abroad, regardless of race or religion, officially enunciated.

Mr. Speaker, this House gave no offense to Russia. Russia took no offense at anything that this House did. But this matter is one of much graver moment than the termination of the treaty. That is a right no one questions. We not only want to terminate this treaty for all the reasons which have been asserted, but we want to continue friendly relations with the Government of Russia. We want to meet Russia halfway, to negotiate and conclude a new treaty that will be up to date and in harmony with the spirit of the times; and I would be the last man in this House or in this country to put a straw in the way of the distinguished Secretary who graces the State Department to bring about its accomplishment, so devoutly wished by every patriotic citizen in America.

Mr. HARRISON of New York: Does the chairman of

the committee know who was responsible for giving to the press of the United States the statement, almost unanimously by them published, to the effect that the adoption of the House resolution would be considered an insult by Russia? And does he further know whether that statement was put into the newspapers to have any effect upon the minds of legislators in this country?

Mr. SULZER: In reply to the question of my colleague from New York, I desire to say—and I speak advisedly—that the statement did not emanate from the State Department. The newspapers of the country were deceived. As I said, Russia made no representations concerning the action of the House, formally or informally, directly or indirectly. The matter is all over now, and I am so anxious to help those upon whom the responsibility devolves to conclude a new treaty, that will be just to all, that I do not care to say anything further on the subject. It is a closed incident, so far as I am concerned. It is the duty of Congress now, it seems to me, to make the task of the Secretary of State as easy as possible, and that is one of the reasons I am asking the House to concur in the Senate amendments.

EDITORIAL IN "THE PUBLIC" BY LOUIS F. POST.

January 26, 1912.

THE RUSSIAN-TREATY ABROGATION.

Those of us who recall the proceedings for abrogating the Russian treaty will remember that great stress was laid by Administration agencies upon the "offensive tone" of Congressman Sulzer's resolution which the House adopted and the Senate amended. That resolution ought not to be forgotten. It declared the true democratic attitude of the United States in all such matters, with reference not alone to American Jews, but to Americans of *all* races and religions. Since its terms were objectionable to President Taft and to a majority of the Senate, we quote the declaration in full:

"That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia concluded at St. Petersburg, December 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons

aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the government of Russia."

Now, why were the President and Senators opposed to that resolution? Was it the democracy of it? Did they see that it would include Negro citizens, for instance, and might become embarrassing as a precedent? They didn't say so. What they said was that the Russian government had protested against that form, and that therefore its adoption would be an affront to a friendly power. But Russia had in fact not protested. An error of the Associated Press, widely published, indeed gave an appearance of truth to this plea of a Russian protest; but the Associated Press correction, not widely published, was ignored. Here is the proof, over the signature of the General Manager of the Associated Press, Mr. Stone, in a letter to Congressman Sulzer:

"It is quite true that in a dispatch dated Washington, December 16th, The Associated Press was led to say that the Russian Government had protested against the House resolution through Ambassador Bakhmeteff. But on December 18 we carried and transmitted to the American newspapers a rather lengthy dispatch from St. Petersburg in which the Russian Foreign Office denied explicitly that any such protest had been made. Also, on the same date we carried a dispatch from Washington quoting Secretary Knox as saying that Russia had not protested either 'against the abrogation of the treaty or against the language of the Sulzer resolution.' So that it seems to me we have already clarified the situation as well as it is possible for us to do."

Evidently the amending of the Sulzer resolution was not to oblige Russia. Nor was it lightly done. There

was a purpose, and now this purpose seems obvious. For the Senate solemnly to declare the equality of citizenship rights under treaties, regardless of *race,* might make much trouble in the future for gentlemen of Senatorial and Presidential size who never cross race lines except when angling for race votes.

MR. SULZER'S LETTER TO MR. BEHAR.

I SHALL FIGHT AS LONG AS I LIVE FOR JUSTICE TO ALL.

"House of Representatives U. S.,
"Washington, D. C., November 5, 1908.

"Nissim Behar, Esq.,

"*Federation of Jewish Organizations, New York City.*

"Dear Sir: I would not be true to myself if I did not, at the first opportunity, thank you for the assistance given me by your organization in the recent campaign, and at the same time to assure you of my sincere appreciation of the great work you are doing for your people—and I may say our common humanity—so near and dear to my heart.

"In the matter of immigration you have aided me much in the fight against unjust restriction and racial discrimination. You have done wonderful work in helping me to refute and repudiate the exaggerated reports and unfounded stories of criminality amongst your co-religionists, by the authentic and conclusive statistics prepared by your organization. In this respect I must not forget crediting you also with the admirable undertaking of establishing a Big Brothers' Society to care for juvenile offenders. Your work should receive the support and commendation of every liberal-minded and patriotic citizen in the land.

"Let me assure you again that I am with you heart and soul; that I mean to stand by you in the future as in the past; and that no man knows better than I do the great work you are doing for humanity. In your fight for the rights of man your platform is mine. You stand for the moral and the social uplifting of the poor and

the lowly; of the oppressed and the persecuted. So do I. I fight, and will continue to fight so long as I live, for justice and equality to all. In my struggle for the rights of man I know no race, no creed, no previous condition or servitude. I am for man—that's all—and it makes no difference to me where he was born, or what his name may be. An injustice to one is the concern of all. That's my platform. And when I see any race, whether in the Orient or the Occident; in Ireland or in Russia; in South Africa or in the Philippines; singled out for oppression, and persecuted on account of race or religion, my heart goes out to that people and I know where my true work lies. Herein you see me truly—and all that I am and all that I hope to be. I could not if I would, and I would not if I could, be otherwise.

"With best wishes for your success in the cause of humanity, believe me, very sincerely yours,

WM. SULZER."

FOR THE MERIT SYSTEM.

In Congress December 9, 1908.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. Speaker, I have just a few words to say. I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts. It is in line with real civil service. An experience of years in public life has convinced me of the efficiency of the merit system, and for one I shall never do anything to break it down. I believe the adoption of this amendment will facilitate the work of the Census Bureau and be for the best interests of the Government. These clerks should be appointed under the competitive system. It will be fair to all. It will be best for all. We can trust the Director of the Census Bureau to provide that these examinations shall speedily be held all over this country and in ample time to get the very best clerks the country can produce for this service. I attach no importance whatever to the objections of the gentleman from Indiana to this amendment. They are untenable and, it seems to me, far-fetched. I am in favor of true civil service—in a real merit system of appointment—as the best method of selection thus far devised. Hence, I hope the amendment will be adopted in the interest of the best service, in the interest of all the people of the country, and for the most efficient work in securing the next census.

FOR CONSERVATION.

In Congress, Washington, Saturday, May 23, 1908. We Must Preserve Our Forests, Protect Our Watersheds, and Promote the Utilities of Our Rivers from Source to Sea—This is the Plain Duty of the Hour, and if We Fail to do it, We Invite the Deluge and Create the Desert.

SPEECH OF MR. SULZER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1908.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 21986) to enable any State to coöperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the conservation of the navigability of navigable rivers, and to provide for the appointment of a commission—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill to create a forest commission to investigate something and report next year nothing regarding the protection of the forests within the watersheds of the White Mountains and the Southern Appalachian range is a sad disappointment to the real friends of genuine forest preservation. It means more delay—and procrastination has been the order of the day—in this momentous matter. We had indulged the hope that the Appalachian forest reservation bill would be reported and passed before this session of Congress adjourned; but, alas, our fondest expectations are again destined to be shattered by this little apology for the real legislation so earnestly demanded by the far-seeing people of the country.

Now, I want to say that I am opposed to this delay. I look with suspicion on this makeshift. Instead of the House of Representatives responding to the appeals of

the people and meeting this great question in a broad and statesmanlike way, the powers that be in this House direct that the committee bring in this bill to delegate away our legislative rights to a perfunctory commission. It is a great mistake. The people are being humbugged. The pretext will not answer. We are sent here to legislate on this question, and on all other questions, and we should not seek to escape the responsibility. The Congress is the lawmaking body of this Government. The people elected us to legislate, and if we are too indolent or too ignorant or too incompetent to do it, we ought to be manly enough to say so and resign and go home and let the people elect Members who are capable enough and competent enough and industrious enough to legislate, not only on this matter, but on all other matters.

I am opposed to delegating away the powers of the legislative branch of the Government to irresponsible commissions. I am against legislation by commissions. I do not like too much commission-made law. I am opposed to this legislative commission business—to a commission to investigate the tariff schedules, to a commission to report on banking and currency, to a commission to look into this matter of forest preservation, and to commissions to do various other things. It is all wrong. It all means delay—more procrastination. These commissions to do this, and to do that, and to do something or other, are merely excuses for delay and for junketing parties, called into being to have a good time, created to spend the people's money, and nine times out of ten utterly useless and barren of beneficial results. We are sent here to do the people's business. Let us obey their mandates and endeavor to meet their expectations.

I am in favor of preserving our forests by intelligent forestry legislation. I am in favor of protecting our watersheds, and utilizing to the utmost our numerous rivers as they flow from the mountains to the seas; and I believe that now is as good a time to begin as some time in the future. We must preserve our forests; we must protect our watersheds; we must promote the utilities of our rivers from source to sea. This is the plain duty of the hour; and if we fail to do it, we invite the

deluge and create the desert. This is a great economical question. I warn the House that delay in this matter is dangerous. Let us do our duty now and not endeavor to escape responsibility by delegating our powers to this commission that will be impotent to accomplish permanent results.

Now, what does this little commission bill do? Briefly, it provides, in the first section, that the consent of the United States is given to any State to enter into any compact or agreement, not in violation of the law of the United States, with any other State or States. The second section makes an appropriation of $100,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into coöperative arrangements with the States or with owners of private woodlands for the administration and utilization of the same. Just what the result of that will be I know not. The remaining sections of the bill provide for the appointment of a commission of ten members, five to be appointed by the Speaker of the House and five to be appointed by the presiding officer of the Senate; these ten to take into consideration all questions relating to the proposed forest reservations of the White and Appalachian mountains.

The action of the committee in this matter—from the bill to do something, now pending in the committee, to this commission bill, just sprung on us, to do nothing—is the merest kind of a makeshift—the rankest kind of an apology—intended only for delay and to escape responsibility; and the whole proceeding is most deplorable. I regret it exceedingly, and I appeal to the wisdom and to the sagacity and to the patriotism of the Members of Congress to do something substantial now before it is too late. We are behind the age on this all-important question of the conservation of our natural resources. We have received a mighty heritage and with it a corresponding responsibility. We are the trustees for future generations; and we will be false to ourselves, false to our country, and false to our trust if we do not do our duty and preserve, in so far as we can, what we enjoy for the benefit of those that come

after us. Let us be true to our trust and true to the ages yet to come. Willful waste makes woeful want.

Mr. Speaker, we must preserve our forests; we must protect our watersheds; we must look after our rivers, from their source to the sea. It is one of the most important questions of the day, and further delay is criminal. We must wake up before our forests are denuded and our rivers destroyed. After the forests are gone this is what will happen: The soil dries up, loses its fibrous life, and by erosion is rapidly washed down into the rivers, where it is deposited to the detriment of navigation, necessitating millions of dollars of Government money each year for dredging. The heavier forest débris, which is not removed, dries up and becomes a tangled mass of timber, that takes fire from the hunter's or the woodman's match, or when the lightning strikes it. The fires, beginning in this débris, spread to the forests that are left and every year do incalculable damage; then the springs and the multitude of tiny brooks that feed the rivers are dried up, and the latter in the dry season get very low, causing enormous loss of the water power which runs the great mills; then the snows melt and the heavy later rains begin. There is no soil now to hold back and distribute equably this downfall on the steep slopes, and so we have the devastating floods, which annually entail enormous losses.

And so, sir, it follows like the night the day that after the devastation of the forests comes the deluge and then a barren waste and then death to all living things and then the rainless desert. It is thus that annihilation has come upon some of the greatest empires and richest domains that the world has ever seen. Once upon a time, before the mountain forests of Lebanon were destroyed, Palestine blossomed like a rose and supported in much affluence a population of 10,000,000. The mountains have long been denuded. Forbidding slopes, barren and ugly, rear their weird forms sharply above dismal and desolate valleys. Scarcely 400,000 people remain in all the region, and most of these are in hopeless and abject poverty.

The valley of Babylon, where once stood the metropolis of the world, is abandoned and forlorn. Nineveh, the magnificent city of the ancients, is buried beneath the shifting sands of time. Desert wastes cover the sites of Carthage and Tyre and Sidon, yet bountiful nature once provided for these places its richest gifts of fertility and abundance. Antioch is gone and all Syria is a scene of irreparable ruin. The destruction of her forests, followed by the disappearance of her soil and the decay of her industries, foreshadowed the inevitable result. Man destroyed the forests, and the lands which once flowed with milk and honey were transformed into desert wastes. One-third of China, it is said, has been rendered uninhabitable, and the ruined hills of southern Italy will no longer support their population, and testify in mute eloquence the consequence of forest slaughter. Is such a mournful record of devastation and destruction, of decay and annihilation, to be repeated in America? I trust not. But I warn my fellow-countrymen that if the carnival of loot of our natural resources is not stopped, and speedily stopped, and the forests administered for perpetual use, history will repeat itself, and the inevitable must follow here as in other lands. We can not escape if we destroy principal and interest. Let us do our duty now or sooner or later this will be a national issue that will sweep all opposition aside.

The intelligent conservation of our wonderful natural resources means much to our glorious country now, and much more in lasting benefits to future generations. The willful waste of these natural resources—the devastation of our forests, the destruction of our watersheds, the elimination of our rivers—means decay and death and desert wastes, means in the centuries yet to come the conditions we now witness in northern Africa, in western Asia, in Italy, and in Spain. The world is learning by experience. We must learn in the same school. We can not have our cake and eat it, too. We can not violate natural laws with impunity; we can not neglect fundamental principles and escape the consequences; we can not decimate our forests and have our rivers, too, and without them our fertile fields will ere long be barren

wastes. Shall the history of the ancients repeat itself here? Shall we never take heed? In the story of the past let us realize the duty of the present, and by doing our duty now we will be true to our trust, true to humanity, true to ourselves, and future generations will rise up and call us blessed.

EULOGY ON THE LATE SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

IN CONGRESS, APRIL 25, 1908.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"*Resolved,* That the House now proceed to pay tribute to the memory of Hon. John T. Morgan, late a Senator from the State of Alabama.

"*Resolved,* That, as a special mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public services, the House at the conclusion of the exercises to-day shall stand in recess until Monday next.

"*Resolved,* That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In the death of Senator John T. Morgan the Commonwealth of Alabama lost her foremost and best beloved citizen, and the country one of its greatest and most esteemed statesmen. He was a grand old man, honest and brave, eloquent and courageous, learned and logical, sagacious and patriotic, and his departure to the undiscovered land leaves a void in our public and private life which can not be filled. He will be missed more and more as the years come and go. He was a gentleman of the old school, a man of heroic mold, of much reading and constructive ability, of the highest honor, of unquestioned integrity, a part of our history for more than half a century, and in his personality he linked the glories and the memories of the past with the plod and progress of the prosaic present. For thirty

years and more, like a Roman senator in the brightest era of the ancient Republic, he stood like a giant oak in the greatest legislative forum of the world eloquently championing the rights of man and battling for the cause of Democracy—as brilliant as Clay, as industrious as Benton, as logical as Calhoun, and as profound as Webster.

"In halls of state he stood for many years
Like fabled knight, his visage all aglow,
Receiving, giving sternly, blow for blow,
Champion of right! But from eternity's far shore
Thy spirit will return to join the strife no more.
Rest, citizen, statesman, rest; thy troubled life is o'er."

John Tyler Morgan was born in the little town of Athens, Tenn., June 20, 1824. He received an academic education chiefly in Alabama, to which State he was taken when 9 years old, and where he resided continuously until his death. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1845, on reaching his majority, and he practiced his profession with much ability and great success until his election to the Senate. He was one of the great lawyers of the country—learned and eloquent, methodical and industrious, sagacious and sincere, honest and true, safe and successful.

He was commissioned in 1862 as a colonel and raised the Fifty-first Alabama regiment; was appointed brigadier-general in 1863, and was assigned to a brigade in Virginia, and subsequently resigned to join his regiment, whose colonel had been killed in battle. Later, in 1863, he was appointed again a brigadier general and assigned to the Alabama brigade, which included his own regiment.

After the war he resumed the active practice of his profession, was a Presidential elector in 1876, and voted for Tilden and Hendricks. He was always a Democrat of the old school, and ever took a deep interest in public affairs. He was elected to the United States Senate to succeed George Goldthwaite, took his seat March 5, 1877, and continued to represent his State in that Chamber of Congress until his death, having been

elected for six full terms, and I believe in all our history there are less than half a dozen men who have been elected to the United States Senate for six full terms in succession. He died in the Capital of his country in the fourth month of his thirty-first year of continuous Senatorial service, with a world-wide reputation, full of honors, in the zenith of his fame, and with the respect and the love of all the people of all the land.

For years General Morgan was a commanding figure in the Senate, a conspicuous legislator, a shining mark, a sturdy plodder, an eloquent debater, and his work in Congress has left a deep and lasting impress on the affairs of men and on the statute books of his time. He was a man of great energy, of unwearied industry, of unswerving devotion to principle, of eternal fidelity to friends, and he had the faculty to sound the depths of every proposition that came within the confines of his consideration. He exhausted every subject within the range of his grasp. He was a man of the highest ideals, of the noblest impulses, of the clearest conception of the amenities of human life, and he stood for the best traditions of the Senate and represented in his personage the highest type of an American citizen.

He was a faithful public servant, and the great work he did for all the people will live as long as the Republic shall endure. He gave to his country the best and ripest years of his life, and his country will never be ungrateful to his memory or forgetful of his long and illustrious service. The country mourns its loss.

"But weep not for him!
Not for him who, departing, leaves millions in tears!
Not for him who has died full of honor and years!
Not for him who ascended Fame's ladder so high;
From the round at the top he has stepped to the sky."

It was my good fortune, Mr. Speaker, to have known Senator Morgan well. He was my friend and I was his friend. For more than a dozen years we worked together in Congress, and I had frequent occasion to consult with him and to get his advice regarding matters

of much public moment. He was a most approachable man, kind and patient and considerate, and he took a great interest in the welfare of younger men. He was always glad to help those that needed help. He had a sunshiny, genial disposition; a quaint sense of humor; he dearly loved a good story, and yet he was one of the most learned, one of the most erudite, one of the most eloquent, and one of the gravest men it has ever been my good fortune to know. In every sense of the word he was a great man and a true man and an honest man, and he believed in his fellow-man. He looked on the bright side of life. He knew the world was growing better; he was optimistic. There was nothing of the skeptic or the cynic in his make-up. He never lost faith in humanity.

He was a lover of liberty, a friend of freedom, a believer in the supremacy of the law, and one of the greatest constitutional lawyers this country has ever produced. He believed in the greatness and the glory and the grander destiny of the Republic and stood for that great cardinal principle of Jefferson, "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." He had no use for the trickster, the trimmer, and the trader. He was a great constructive statesman—a creator of statute law. He hated cant, spurned pretense, and despised hypocrisy. He was a simple man and a great Democrat. He was an indefatigable worker—he did things—things that will live, things that are now history. He was a fearless man and dared to do what he thought was right, regardless of consequences. He was a faithful public official and he died in the service of his country—ripe in years and crowned with glory. His work is done. His career is finished. He has reaped his everlasting reward in the great beyond. Grand old man of Alabama, hail and farewell!

SPEECH IN FAVOR OF PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

In Congress May 18, 1908.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting, I believe, for me to say that I concur substantially in the timely remarks of the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Rucker) regarding the failure of the Republicans in this House to call up and pass the campaign contribution publicity bill, which is now on the Calendar and can be called up and passed and made a law before this session adjourns. If we do not pass it now, it will be too late to make it effective for the campaigns of 1908.

In my opinion this publicity campaign contribution bill is one of the most important measures before this House. It is a bill for honest elections, to more effectually safeguard the elective franchise, and it affects the entire people of this country. It concerns the honor of the country. The honest people of the land want it passed. All parties should favor it. Recent investigations conclusively demonstrate how important to all the people of the country is the speedy enactment of this bill for the publication before elections of campaign contributions.

I have been for years a consistent advocate of this legislation. I have done all in my power to get a favorable report from the committee, and I shall do all I can to enact the bill into law. Many people believe that if a law were on the statute books similar to the provisions of this bill, the Republicans would not have been successful in the election of 1896. The Republicans succeeded that year because they raised the largest corruption fund in all our history.

In every national contest of recent years the campaign has been a disgraceful scramble to see which party could raise the most money, not for legitimate expenses, but to carry on a system of political iniquity that will not and can not bear the light of publicity. Political corruption dreads the sun of publicity and works in secret and in darkness. Pass a publicity law along the lines of this bill and I predict that in future national campaigns there will be no criminations and recriminations such as disgraced the closing days of the last Presidential contest.

Napoleon said victory was on the side of the heaviest guns. There are many thoughtful people in this country who have been saying ever since 1896 that political victory in our Presidential contests is on the side of the campaign committee which can raise the largest boodle fund.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with this national publicity bill it is interesting to consider the amounts of money contributed and expended in Presidential campaigns in the past by the campaign committees of the two great parties. Prior to 1860, so far as I have been able to ascertain—and I have given the matter very careful investigation—no national committee in any Presidential contest expended much more than $25,000, except, perhaps, in the campaign of 1832, when Jackson triumphed over the corruption fund of the Bank of the United States. But that is now ancient history, and has very little to do with the present-day practices of national committees, and I will not spend further time in discussing it.

However, I want to read to the House a statement which has been carefully compiled by very competent and experienced men, showing the expenditures of the Republican and Democratic national committees in every Presidential contest from 1860 to 1904. Of course I do not declare that the statement of expenditures which I am about to read is absolutely accurate, but I do say—and a careful investigation, in my opinion, will substantiate it—that these expenditures are approximately correct.

Year.	Republican candidate.	Democratic candidate.	Expended by Republican national committee.	Expended by Democratic national committee.
1860...	Abraham Lincoln.....	Stephen A. Douglass...	$100,000	$50,000
1864...	....do.....	Geo. B. McClellan.....	125,000	50,000
1868...	U. S. Grant.....	Horatio Seymour.....	150,000	75,000
1872...	....do.....	Horace Greeley.....	250,000	50,000
1876...	Rutherford B. Hayes...	Samuel J. Tilden.....	950,000	900,000
1880...	James A. Garfield.....	W. S. Hancock.....	1,100,000	355,000
1884...	James G. Blaine.....	Grover Cleveland.....	1,300,000	1,400,000
1888...	Benjamin Harrison.....	....do.....	1,350,000	855,000
1892...	....do.....	....do.....	1,850,000	2,350,000
1896...	William McKinley.....	William J. Bryan.....	16,500,000	675,000
1900...	....do.....	....do.....	9,500,000	425,000
1904...	Theodore Roosevelt....	Alton B. Parker.....	3,500,000	1,250,000

Now, Mr. Speaker, as I said, perhaps these figures may not be absolutely accurate, and perhaps there is no way now by which they can be substantiated by legal proof, but they have been carefully compiled from the best obtainable sources, and I doubt not they will be extremely interesting to students of political events who desire to make careful investigation and comparison of campaign contributions.

These national campaign funds reveal a condition of affairs concerning our recent Presidential elections which, to every right-thinking citizen, should be sufficient reason for the enactment into law of the bill I am discussing; and this measure especially appeals to those patriotic people of our country who see grave dangers to the Republic in the growing evils incident to these large campaign funds, and who believe that they are contributed in most instances by protected industries solely for the purpose of debauching the electorate and defeating the will of the honest people of the country.

This important bill for publicity of campaign contributions is a nonpartisan measure. There should be no politics in it. We should all advocate it from patriotic motives; but some of the gentlemen on the other side are now playing politics with it, are injecting party politics into it, and are doing everything in their power to prevent the Members of this House who sincerely favor the bill from having an opportunity to vote for it. I do

not hesitate to say that if this bill were presented to the membership of this House on its merits it would pass by an overwhelming majority. I would like to hear from the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCall), who introduced the bill. I wish to hear his honest opinion of the thimble-rigging which has been resorted to regarding the bill ever since this session began.

It is a shame the way this bill is being strangled to death. We Democrats favor it. We will vote for it if you Republicans will give us a chance. We challenge the Republican leaders in this House to do so. I want some Republican to give us a reason why this bill is not called up, considered, and passed. Is the Speaker against it? If the Speaker is the man against it, let us know it and we will hold the Speaker responsible. Is the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means opposed to it? Let us know, and we will hold him responsible. Is the Committee on Rules responsible for holding up this very important bill? If so, let us know and we will hold that committee responsible. Let us fix the responsibility.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee: Will the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. SULZER: Yes; for a question.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee: This same committee last year did not report the bill, and they did not report it this year. Could not the Speaker appoint a committee that would report it, if he wanted to?

Mr. SULZER: Oh, yes. I am trying to find out who is responsible for the defeat of this desirable legislation. I want to fix the responsibility, so that the people will be able to take action concerning it in the coming campaign. The Republicans here can pass it. They are in the majority. We Democrats favor the bill. We will vote for it. If the bill is not acted upon, the Republicans of this House must bear the responsibility and take the consequences.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion this Congress will be recreant to its duty and false to the people of this country if it does not take action in regard to this matter before we adjourn. The passage of this publicity bill regarding contributions to national campaign committees

will be a great victory for the plain people of the land, and will go as far, in my judgment, as anything that can be devised at the present time by the ingenuity of the human mind to effectually put a stop to political iniquity in Congressional and Presidential campaigns. These great political contributions made to the national committees of both parties by the vested interests, and the protected industries of the country, are not voluntary contributions, but are levied like taxes, and are generally made with the understanding, express or implied, that the contributors shall be protected against the rights of the people, and shall be secure in robbing the many for the benefit of the few, and shall have meted out to them by the party in power certain special privileges which are repugnant to our free institutions and contrary to the fundamental principles of the Democratic party.

REGARDING WM. R. SMITH, THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE BOTANIC GARDEN, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Speech in Congress, March 25, 1908.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: But, sir, the question now is, Where should this Grant memorial be located? The commission delegated to locate the site for the monument selected, in the first instance, a site in the Ellipse immediately in front of the White House—between the White House and the Washington Monument. That site, in my judgment, was a very proper location and in all respects most suitable. Afterward, for some reason or other, the commission abandoned that site and selected the Botanic Garden as the proper place. In my opinion, that change was most unwise and the gravest kind of a mistake. The Botanic Garden for a great many years has been one of the historic landmarks of the District of Columbia, and under the guiding genius of its eminent director, William R. Smith, it has been useful, as well as ornamental. Thousands and thousands of people coming to this city every year visit the Botanic Garden and enjoy its many beauties. It is one of the pleasure resorts of Washington especially to every man, woman, and child who loves flowers and trees and plants and shrubs.

It is a monument to the energy of Mr. Smith, and no part of it should be desecrated or destroyed. For years trees have been planted in this garden by the most distinguished citizens of our country, and by eminent citizens of other countries, so that to-day it is one of the most interesting and beautiful places for visitors in all the city of Washington. Every spot in it is reminiscent

and historical. No part of it should be injured or destroyed, and it is the most unsuitable place that could be selected for a great monument to a military hero.

The place selected in the Botanic Garden by the Commission for this Grant Memorial is near the street toward this end. Already excavations have begun and the work of destruction will go on unless we stop it. Anyone who will take the time to visit the Botanic Garden will see at a glance how inappropriate the place is for a memorial, and how its erection there will necessitate the lasting injury and destruction of a large number of valuable and beautiful and historic trees—especially one great beautiful tree planted by John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, in 1862, from an acorn which he brought from that famous Commonwealth to commemorate his noble efforts in endeavoring to bring about peace and stop the deadly conflict between the North and the South.

That tree is one of the most magnificent in all the garden, and is known as the "Crittenden peace tree." Its destruction now would be a shame—a piece of vandalism. That little acorn, planted by the patriotic hand of Senator Crittenden, has grown into a great oak, one of the finest trees in the garden. That tree is an historic landmark and should be sacred from vandal hands. That little acorn—planted there in 1862—to commemorate an heroic effort for peace—is to-day the giant tree that exemplifies that peace in its fullest sense, and it would be a desecration—a lamentable desecration—to destroy it. If the monument goes up the tree must be cut down. It can not be saved by removal. According to the judgment of experts who have investigated the matter and who know the most about the subject, it is impossible to dig up so big and so old a tree and transplant it, or to dig up and transplant any of these other great and beautiful trees that must be destroyed to make way for the monument. If they are transplanted they will surely die. If the monument work goes ahead these historic trees will be lost.

I am opposed to cutting down these famous trees and destroying one of the chief beauties of the Botanic Garden. It ought not to be done. Congress should

stop it, and stop it at once. As I said, I do not believe this site is the best place in Washington for the Grant Monument. It is an out-of-the-way and an obscure place. If erected there, it can not be seen from the Avenue, and this magnificent Grant Memorial should be in a place with sufficient space around it so that it can be seen from all sides and from all directions. The selection of this site in the Botanic Garden is a mistake, and the Commission selecting it should be condemned by a resolution of Congress, and hereafter we should be more careful in appointing men on commissions to select sites for monuments in this city.

The most suitable site in Washington for the Grant Memorial is the first site selected, in the ellipse between the White House and the Monument. That was General Grant's park. He laid it out, and spent much of his leisure there during the time he was in the White House. Beyond a doubt it is the most suitable and the most appropriate place in Washington for this monument, and the Congress should see to it that it is erected there and kept out of the Botanic Garden.

Now, I want to say that I am in sympathy with those who desire to make Washington the "City Beautiful." I believe it is such to-day, and destined to grow more so as the years come and go. Every citizen in the land should be interested in making the capital of his country the most beautiful city in the world; but we can never do it with commissions composed of men such as we have appointed heretofore. In the future we should select men who know something about art and trees and perspective, and less about law and science and statistics.

I am a friend of William R. Smith, the Director of the Botanic Garden—a truly great man; a man who has done a great work for all the people, a world-wide work for this country; a man who has done more in two generations than any other man in all this land to foster and inculcate the love of the beautiful, the love of art, the love of trees and shrubs and plants and flowers; a man who has studied the soil, who has made its arid wastes blossom like a rose, who has cultivated and propagated in the Botanic Garden all kinds of plant life and distrib-

uted them to all parts of the country, to grow and blossom and thrive; a man who has made two blades of grass grow where one grew before; a great botanist, a great scientist, a great horticulturist, a great landscape gardener, a lover of the beautiful in nature; a man who long ago, before Burbank or any other man in this country, experimented with the possibilities of our soil in different parts of the country in order to find out for what it was best adapted and what it would best produce, and, finding it out, worked wonders in every section of this country. I am a friend of this great Scotchman, and I say, and I think we should give heed to his protest against this desecration of the Botanic Garden that he loves so much, that has been in his charge for so many years, and through the agency of which he has done so much to beautify this city and render such inestimable service to every part of the country.

We should listen to his protest and save the trees. They can never be transplanted. They can never grow again. Cut them down now and they are gone forever, with all their wealth of beauty and of historical memories.

William R. Smith loves these grand old trees. Let us save them. Let us give heed to his protest and stop the desecration of the Bontanic Garden ere it is too late by taking immediate action to prevent the destruction of its trees and finding a more suitable place and a more appropriate site for the Grant Memorial.

SPEECH FOR THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

In Congress, May 20, 1908.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to speak in favor of the Senate amendment in the pending sundry civil bill, making an appropriation of $700,000 for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, to be held in Seattle in 1909, and to urge the House conferees to agree to the same when the bill goes back to conference. The committee of the House has reported favorably a similar measure, which is now on the Calendar. I believe the House is overwhelmingly in favor of this appropriation for this desirable exposition and would vote in favor of the Senate amendment by more than three to one if an opportunity were now offered. It is a worthy project, and commands our earnest support and commendation.

This Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Mr. Speaker, will exhibit not merely the wonderful resources of the States of the Pacific slope, but also the material resources of Alaska, the Yukon territory, British Columbia, the Philippines, and Hawaii. Its object is to demonstrate the progress and the development and the resources of the entire region of the Pacific and to forecast its mighty future possibilities. It means much to us all. The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition is peculiar among enterprises of this character, because it will comprehend not only the resources of the Pacific possessions of this country, but also the Canadian territory of British Columbia and the far-famed Yukon, thus affording the unusual spectacle of two countries under different flags joining forces and uniting in interest in one great exposition.

The Yukon territory and British Columbia, under the Dominion of Canada, are to be as much a part of this exhibition as Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines, under our own Government, and it is destined to be an exposition expressive of harmony and of good will and of international comity, and speaking much for the continuance of the amicable relations between us and our English-speaking neighbors. It is estimated that 10,000,000 people now live within a radius of 1,000 miles of the section of our country and Canada where this exhibition is to be held, all of whom are directly interested in this exposition and welcome an opportunity to show the material resources and the wealth and the development of their respective sections.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the Pacific and the Great Northwest take a deep interest in this exposition. They intend to make it a success. They are determined to demonstrate the progress they are making in all that tends to the advancement of humanity. They ask the Government for no help. They want no gift. They appeal for no loan. All they ask is that the Government recognize the importance of this exposition, lend its official indorsement to it, take part in it, build its own buildings, and make its own exhibits, and do so at its own expense. The States and the Territories are doing their part. They are all doing what is right. Why should the Government, so deeply interested, lag behind? The Government has aided financially and participated in every exposition of a national character ever held in this country. No Government aid is asked for this exposition—not a dollar is asked for, directly or indirectly—only suitable participation. The exposition is in the interest of all the people.

It will materially benefit all the people. Then why should the Government refuse to take part in this magnificent display of the natural resources of our great Northwest and wonderful Pacific possessions? I can not believe that we shall be so blind to our own best interests as to permit this appropriation to fail. Congress should lend a friendly hand to the enterprising and progressive people on our Pacific borders. They are

entitled to it. They are doing a great work that benefits all the people of our country. They have already secured beautiful and suitable grounds for the exposition. It is to be held on the campus of the State University at Seattle. Four hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars have already been expended in the improvement of the grounds and in the construction of buildings, and many of the structures are already well toward completion; and the exposition will bring to the attention of the world the great commercial resources and possibilities of the countries bordering the Pacific and strengthen the friendly and trade relations of the nations on this ocean. As I have already said, the great Yukon territory is to be a part of this exposition. Thus, two nations under two flags will unite in one exposition, something never before known in our day. This exposition will not only tend to strengthen national comity with our English-speaking neighbors on the north, but it will tend to promote harmony and good will with all nations of the Pacific, and especially with the countries of the Orient.

Mr. Speaker, I am a friend of these expositions. All things considered, they cost little and do much good. It is money wisely expended. It benefits all. These expositions are milestones marking great epochs in our onward progress. They diffuse knowledge, educate the people, and exhibit the wonderful resources of our country and the constructive genius of our people. They mean ocular demonstration; they are great object lessons; they are historical and educational and industrial and mechanical and commercial; they mean progress and advancement and enlightenment. They emphasize our greatness and our grandeur and our glory. They illustrate our marvelous progress in every line of human effort, and they demonstrate the giant strides the race is making in every avenue of industry.

IN FAVOR OF AN INCOME TAX.

Speech of Mr. Sulzer in Congress, July 11, 1909.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am now, always have been, and always will be in favor of an income tax, because, in my opinion, an income tax is the fairest, the most just, the most honest, the most democratic, and the most equitable tax ever devised by the genius of statesmanship. Ever since I came to Congress the record will show that I have been the constant advocate of an income tax along constitutional lines. And so to-day I reiterate that through it only, and by its agency alone, will it ever be possible for the Government to be able to make idle wealth pay its just share of the ever-increasing burdens of Government.

At the present time nearly all the taxes raised for the support of the Government are levied on consumption—on what the people need to eat and to wear and to live; on the necessaries of life; and the consequence is that the poor man, indirectly, but surely in the end, pays practically as much to support the Government as the rich man—regardless of the difference of incomes. This system of tariff tax on consumption, by which the consumers are saddled with nearly all the burdens of Government, is an unjust system of taxation, and the only way to remedy the injustice and destroy the inequality is by an income tax that will make idle wealth as well as honest toil pay its just share of the taxes needed to administer the National Government. Hence I shall vote for the pending resolution or any proposition that, in my judgment, will make an income tax in this country possible and constitutional, however remote that possibility may be.

Let me say that every great thinker, every honest jurist, and every great writer on political economy, from the days of Aristotle down to the present time, has advocated and justified the imposition of an income tax for the support of government as the most honest and the most expeditious and the most equitable principle of taxation that can be devised. It must come in this country. It should have been adopted long ago. Almost every great government on earth secures a large part of its revenue from an income tax, and we must do the same. We are far behind the governments of Europe in this respect—far behind enlightened public opinion.

SULZER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HUGHES, DECEMBER 15, 1909, URGING REFORM LEGISLATION.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 15, 1909.

"Hon. Charles E. Hughes, Albany, N. Y.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I write you this letter to indulge the hope that you will recommend in your forthcoming annual message to the Legislature the following matters in which the people of New York State take a deep and an abiding interest:

"First—Ballot reform by simplifying the ballot along the lines of the Massachusetts ballot laws. The ballot complications in the recent municipal election of New York City demonstrate the necessity for this change beyond any question.

"Second—Legislation in favor of direct primaries. In your several public addresses you have taken strong ground in favor of this reform. I sincerely trust your next message will be as positive regarding it.

"Third—In favor of the ratification of the Income Tax Amendment to the Federal Constitution—so that wealth as well as work shall bear its just share of the burdens of government.

"I believe there are no measures that the next Legislature can consider that will be of greater advantage to the people than these propositions; and I earnestly hope they will meet with approval and be adopted.

"In my own way I am doing all I can for their accomplishment, and in the future, as in the past I shall do my part to write this desirable legislation upon the statute books of our State. Very respectfully yours,

"WILLIAM SULZER."

PURCHASE OF EMBASSY AND CONSULAR BUILDINGS ABROAD.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH IN CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 7, 1911.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: For many years I have been in favor of this Government acquiring and owning diplomatic and consular establishments for its representatives in the principal countries of the world. This bill is a step in that direction and meets with my earnest approval.

What the United States requires, in my opinion, in the great capitals of the world, are official residences, which shall be permanent homes for its diplomatic and consular representatives, whether they be rich or poor, in which they shall reside in a position consistent with democratic institutions. I believe the taxpayers of the country favor it because it will mean the maintenance of the dignity of our people and the enhancement of the prestige of the Republic. Such a policy will produce an external uniformity in the outward semblance of each and conceal the difference between the rich diplomat and the poor, yet, perhaps, far abler scholar and statesman. The price of a modern battleship would provide proper homes for most of our ministers and ambassadors abroad and give these official residences the dignity that it associated with permanency.

The diplomatic representatives of our country in foreign capitals should reside in suitable homes, owned and furnished in a proper manner by our Government, and be paid a salary sufficient to enable them to live in a way befitting the greatness and the glory of the United States. We are a world power of the first magnitude, and we should live up to it in the diplomatic family of nations. I believe in economy. I like democratic sim-

plicity; but I have traveled some, and, like others who have been in foreign lands, I know what a sorry figure we generally cut in diplomatic circles. If we want to be abreast of the political and commercial spirit of the times we must yield to modern progress in these important matters of the world and lay aside the ultraconservatism of the past and the rigid simplicity of bygone days.

If Congress is unable to understand the exceedingly mean figure that is cut by the United States in foreign capitals when its diplomatic representatives are obliged to spend their yearly salaries in providing themselves with a roof over their official heads, then the case is hopeless. If our ambassador is an object of derision, if the United States is the subject of contemptuous remarks by all the little whippersnappers of diplomacy who have been better provided for, the fault lies in the Congress of this great country. Rich and powerful as we are as a Nation, we belittle our own dignity and that of our representatives in foreign lands by refusing to establish permanent homes for them where the Stars and Stripes may ever fly.

Sir, how can we expect our diplomats abroad to be treated with the same respect as those of other countries when the very houses in which they live invite invidious comparisons? It is just as important for the envoys representing our people to be housed in a manner befitting the wealth and power of our country as it is for the President of the United States to live in the White House; and the saddest commentary on it all is the knowledge that men of ability, men of experience, but lacking riches, in view of present conditions, can not hope to represent this country in foreign lands. It would be more becoming to our pretensions of democratic simplicity, in my judgment, if Congress should now place our Diplomatic Service on a basis where brains and not dollars alone will be the essentials for diplomatic office in foreign countries.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH ON THE APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

(*In Congress, February* 9, 1911.)

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: As a believer in representative government I shall vote to give the people more representation in the Congress of the United States—the greatest parliamentary body in all the civilized world. My answer to the critics of representative government is more representative government. My reply to the foes of democracy is more democracy. Hence I shall vote against the bill limiting the membership in the House of Representatives to 391, and in favor of the bill to increase the membership to 433, duly apportioned among the States in accordance with population.

This is a government of the people, and the House of Representatives should be close to the people and responsive to their will. With a membership of 433 it will not be too large. Great Britain has 670 members in the House of Commons, with a population of about 40,000,000; Austria has 516 members in the lower house, with a population of about 26,000,000; France has 584 members in the Chamber of Deputies, with a population of about 39,000,000; Germany has 397 members in the Reichstag, with a population of about 50,000,000. It will be seen, therefore, that in the densely populated countries of Europe, where representatives have less difficulty in ascertaining local, industrial, social, and political conditions, the ratio of population is much smaller than it is in the United States.

The bill I advocate fixes the membership of the House from and after the 3d day of March, 1913, at 433, and provides that if any new State shall be admitted into the

Union the Representative or Representatives assigned to such State shall be in addition to that number. The ratio of population to Representatives is fixed at 211,877. The ratio under the apportionment act following the Twelfth Census was 194,182, so that the average district under the bill I am discussing will contain 17,695 more inhabitants than were contained in the average congressional district under the act of 1901.

There has been an increase in the membership of the House of Representatives under every census but one since the organization of the Government. Then the Senate controlled the matter for the first and only time. That apportionment following the Sixth Census, in 1840, reduced the membership 17, but this was, as I said, accomplished by the Senate. The increase has not been in proportion to the population, but has been an average of about 50 per cent. thereof.

I want to restore to the people the right now delegated to the legislatures by the framers of the Constitution, so that the Senators as well as Members of Congress shall be elected directly by the people, and the Government thus become more and more a representative democracy, where brains, fitness, honesty, ability, experience, and capacity, and not wealth and subserviency, shall be the true qualifications for both branches of the Federal Legislature.

The people all over this country now demand this much-needed change in the Federal Constitution, so that they can vote directly for Senators in Congress, and they appeal to us to enact a law to give them that right. It is not a partisan question, neither is it a sectional issue. The demand reaches us from all parts of the land and from men in all political parties with a degree of unanimity that is quite surprising. It is our duty to respect the wishes of the people and to give them a uniform law allowing them to vote for Senators in Congress just the same as they now vote for Representatives in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been a Member of this House—for nearly 16 years—I have advocated and worked faithfully to bring about the election of Senators in Congress by the direct vote of the people. In every

Congress in which I have served I have introduced a joint resolution to amend the Constitution to enact into law this most desirable reform, and the record will show that I have done everything in my power, in Congress and out of Congress, to secure its accomplishment.

Without any vanity I can justly say that I am the author of this reform. On several occasions my resolution has passed the House, only to fail in the Senate, because the Senate would never allow the question to come to a vote. However, it is just as sure to be written into our Constitution, sooner or later, as the sun is to rise to-morrow.

The right to elect United States Senators by a direct vote of the people is a step in advance and in the right direction. I hope it will speedily be brought about. It is the right kind of reform, and I hope it will be succeeded by others, until this Government becomes indeed the greatest and the best and the freest Government the world has ever seen.

LIBRARIES FOR THE PEOPLE. PRAISE FOR ANDREW CARNEGIE.

(*From Speech in Congress, March 29, 1910.*)

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The necessity for public libraries is acknowledged. They supplement the school system and are a factor in popular education. When it is considered that only a small percentage of the population continues in school after the compulsory period has been reached, it is easy to see what a free circulating library may do to help men and women to continue their education by reading; to study along the lines of trade or business; to improve their mind; and increase their earning capacity by a greater knowledge of matters of moment.

I am in favor of public libraries. They do a great deal of good. Their establishment should be encouraged. They help the parents and the children. They will aid the men and the women who want to improve themselves by reading and studying along the various lines of their endeavors. I know of no agency in America save our public schools that is doing so much good for our citizenship; so much for the general weal; and so much for the perpetuity of our free institutions as the public libraries. Their facility for education is the greatest blessing vouchsafed to America and the surest guaranty for the safety of our freedom.

Instead of being criticised Andrew Carnegie should be commended for all that he has done and is doing for the public libraries of America.

We ought to favor whenever and wherever we can the building and the maintenance of these libraries for all the people, where every boy and every girl and every

man and every woman can go, get a book, and study. There is no way in which so much good can be accomplished, no way in which the people of the country can be benefited so much; no way in which to induce a desire to study and a love for great books; and to maintain a proper respect for the sanctity of home and for law and order among the people as through the good books the people get and read from these public libraries.

I think their establishment by law is wise legislation; the money for their maintenance well expended; and all for the benefit of the masses, and destined beyond doubt to promote the general welfare. All honor and all praise to Andrew Carnegie; and prosperity to the public libraries he is establishing in America.

OUR LIFE SAVERS.

There Are No Braver Men in the Government Service Than Our Heroic Life-Savers.

Speech of Mr. Sulzer, in the House of Representatives, January 13, 1911.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I believe the overwhelming sentiment of the country is in favor of legislation to retire on a pension, when old and deserving, men in our Life-Saving Service.

The record will show the lives and the property which have been saved during the past twenty years by the Life-Saving Service. These brave men have saved hundreds of lives and millions and millions of dollars' worth of property. If any class of men in the public employ deserve favorable consideration, the life-savers do, and for one I can not allow this opportunity to pass without taking issue with the gentleman from Illinois and again voicing my regret that through his agency the committee of which he is the chairman has refused to report the bill for these worthy people.

The Life-Saving Service of the United States is not an expensive service. It pays for itself a thousandfold every year. The figures in the Treasury Department will demonstrate the accuracy of that statement.

The pay of the men in the Life-Saving Service is very meager. Only a small proportion of the surfmen can ever reach a keepership with a salary of $1,000 per annum, and the number of district superintendents is so small that a surfman's prospects of attaining to this grade are negligible. The only increase of pay provided by existing law in the grade of surfman, above which a

vast majority of the men, however well qualified, can never hope to rise, is the extra $5 per month paid to the No. 1 man in each crew, and even this must be inevitably surrendered as old age approaches to younger and more active men. Obviously, the outlook for a man of mature years, who considers the service from the standpoint of a life profession, is not such as to encourage the enlistment of energetic and ambitious men

The life-saver's course of life is very similar to that of the soldier and naval sailor. He is enlisted for a specified term of service after a rigid physical examination, to which is added a professional one not required of the soldier and sailor, is subject to rigid discipline, to constant guard duty, the performance of daily drills, and, when occasion requires, to do battle. The nightly patrol of the life-saver, however, involving long, difficult, and wearisome marches in all conditions of weather, is one of especial hardship and exposure, which finds no parallel in the corresponding duty of the soldier and sailor.

In my opinion, the men engaged in the Life-Saving Service are employed in an especially hazardous undertaking. It is the most strictly nonpartisan service under the Government, being definitely removed from the field of political patronage, and the duties of its employees are of an unusually arduous and dangerous nature. The risk of death, injury, and disease incurred by the life-saver is not less than that of the soldier or naval sailor. If his service is less dangerous in time of war, it is much more so in time of peace, which is the generally prevailing condition, that has been interrupted but four times in our national history. Extra hazard, therefore, is incurred by the soldier and naval sailor only at intervals of many years, while the perils of the life-saver run through the entire period of peace as well as war. Every enlistment of the life-saver is entered with the certainty of exposure to extraordinary danger, while the vast majority of those who enlist in the Army or Navy do so with scarcely a prospect of incurring the dangers of war.

The men in the Life-Saving Service spend the best years of their manhood working to save life and property and only receive a mere pittance for the duties they

perform. Their pay is inadequate. They should receive more compensation. They can not possibly save anything. I suppose nearly all of them have families. They must feed, clothe, and educate their children. With the high cost of living, they can not save anything for old age out of the very small pay they now receive.

What are we going to do with these deserving men when they become 60 or 70 years of age? Are we going to turn them out on a cold world to the mercy of charity? It is inhuman and disgraceful for Congress to take that unjust position. We should provide for these brave men in their old age. We should hold out to them the hope that if they are courageous and faithful in the performance of their every duty, if they are willing upon occasion to hazard their lives, that they shall be provided for in their sere and yellow leaf. That is the manly position for the representatives of this Government to take in regard to the men in the Life-Saving Service.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN—THE MAN."

(*From Speech in Congress, February 12, 1907.*)

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In the words of John Stuart Mill, "Abraham Lincoln was the kind of a man Carlyle in his better days taught us to worship as a hero." And as the years come and go he will be worshiped more and more in every land and in every clime, from the Occident to the Orient—throughout the world—by the friends of human liberty.

He was one of the purest patriots, one of the wisest statesmen, and one of the greatest men that ever lived. He loved liberty, believed in the people, and battled for the rights of man. He was the friend of the masses and the champion of the oppressed. He loved truth and justice. He believed in civil and religious liberty; he advocated not only the freedom of man, but the freedom of conscience, the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press. He could not tolerate class, or caste, or special privilege. He was the myriad-minded man of his day. He had few prejudices and no bigotry. All the prejudices he had were against the evils of his time—against the pride, the arrogance, and the intoleration of his fellowman. He knew the right, and he was great enough and brave enough to dare maintain it.

Abraham Lincoln stood for the freedom of man like the Rock of Ages in a tempestuous sea. He never faltered, he never lost hope, he never wavered, he never deserted a principle.

He searched for the truth, and, knowing the truth, he had the courage and the manhood, without fear or favor, to promulgate it to all the world. He did as much for human liberty as any man who ever lived.

In the retrospect—as the years come and go—this wonderful man, whose mind had a thousand eyes and whose heart had a thousand thoughts, grows greater and grander.

As the centuries fade away the immortal figure of Abraham Lincoln will loom larger and larger on the horizon of human destiny—a great beacon light in the progress of civilization.

The history of his life, of his joys and sorrows, his hopes and discouragements, from the little log cabin in Kentucky, where he was born, to the Presidential chair, reads like a romance and could not have occurred in any other country than our own, where the humblest boy can rise step by step on the political ladder to the White House. The story of the life of Lincoln, of his trials and his triumphs, is the bright star of hope for the youth of our land and the inspiration of all America.

Lincoln was a deep thinker, a profound reasoner, a great lawyer, and one of the greatest political philosophers that ever lived; and during his Presidential career, in the darkest hours of our country's history, he was the guiding genius of the Union.

Lincoln died in the prime of his life, at the summit of his career, in the zenith of his fame, in the service of his country, loved by every friend of man, and mourned by all the world.

"There is a reaper whose name is Death,
And with his sickle keen
He reaps the bearded grain at a breath,
And the flowers that grow between."

But the grim reaper can never rob humanity of the undying fame of Abraham Lincoln. As my friend Colonel Henry Watterson has most truly and eloquently said:

"A thousand years hence no story, no tragedy, no epic poem will be filled with greater wonder or be read with deeper feeling than that which tells of his life and death."

Lincoln was indeed a man—the man—upon whose like we shall not look again; and take him all in all he was one of the greatest apostle of human liberty the world has ever seen.

The mortal Lincoln sleeps beneath the marble shaft at Springfield, and his shrine is, and ever will be, the Mecca of the liberty-loving people of the world whither shall journey to the end of time the countless millions yet unborn to kneel and kindle anew their zeal for human freedom.

THE GENERAL SLOCUM DISASTER.

From Speech in Congress, May 31, 1906.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the *General Slocum* was an excursion steamer plying in and around the harbor of the city of New York. On the 15th day of June, 1904, the steamer was chartered to carry an excursion party consisting of over 1,500 souls—men, women and children—from St. Mark's German Lutheran Church. It was the Sunday school's annual holiday outing. These excursions are of frequent occurrence in the city of New York during the summer months and are social events of much importance in the lives of the people in the thickly populated sections. All the members of the church, with their families and their friends, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by this Sunday school picnic to go on this outing and have an enjoyable time.

The *General Slocum* left her wharf early on that fateful morning, freighted with her human cargo, and started on her trip up the East River. It was a beautiful summer's day; the steamer was crowded; all her flags were gayly flying; merry music was playing; happy children singing and laughing; parents and friends talking over the topics of the day, and as the steamer wended her way all on board was joy and merriment.

She had not proceeded far up the East River, however, when the cry of fire startled the passengers. In less time than it takes to tell it flames burst forth and, fanned by the breeze, quickly enveloped the boat. Amid cries and confusion that beggar description, and with a startling suddenness that cannot be pictured in words, a frightful scene ensued, too horrible for narration.

The captain of the steamer lost his head, as so often

happens under similar circumstances—he was no Jim Bludsoe—and instead of immediately beaching the steamer, as he should have done, he ran her up the river several miles in the teeth of the increasing wind, where she finally grounded near North Brothers Island, a charred and blackened wreck.

Oh, the pitiable scenes that ensued! The life preservers were rotten. The fire apparatus useless. The crew raw deck hands who were never drilled and tried only to save themselves. Pandemonium reigned, and amid the tumult and the scorching flames, hundreds and hundreds of helpless men, women, and children, caught like rats in a trap, were burned to a crisp on the ship, and hundreds and hundreds of others, just as helpless, were scorched and burned until, frantic, they threw themselves into the rushing waters only to be drowned.

It is too terrible a scene to contemplate even now. Fathers who were there lost their reason, and mothers, unable to save their children, went mad. The frightful horrors of it all will never be effaced from the memory of this generation.

The funerals of the victims lasted for more than a week, and taxed the best energies of all the undertakers. The distress and the misery, the sorrow and the lamentation following this frightful tragedy can never be forgotten, and the saddening scenes were heartrending to witness. The city of New York responded promptly, as it always does in all calamities. The sympathetic people did all they could for the unfortunate dead and the injured living, but, after all, how impotent they were in their poor human ways to do more than bury the stricken dead and comfort the burned and injured living.

The Government ordered an investigation. That investigation dragged its slow length along for weeks and months, and the testimony and findings in the matter filled a book, with the contents of which many here are thoroughly familiar. It was ascertained by this investigation and by other inquiries, official and unofficial, that the terrible loss of life incident to this lamentable tragedy could have been prevented if the officials of the Government charged with the responsibility had per-

formed their duty in accordance with the law. It was proven conclusively that the life-preservers and the fire apparatus on board of the *General Slocum* were old and worn-out and absolutely useless, and this fire apparatus and these life-preservers had only recently been inspected by the Government inspectors, who had passed them as being in compliance with the provisions of the statutes of the United States. The law had been flagrantly violated. The testimony proves it conclusively.

THE SCENIC WONDERS OF NIAGARA FALLS.

Speech in Congress, April 11, 1906.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, as the House of Representatives is now in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, I desire to take advantage of the time at my disposal to say a few words in regard to the preservation of one of the greatest scenic wonders in all the world—Niagara Falls.

I appeal to-day to this House to be up and doing, so that ere we adjourn there will be a law upon the Federal statute books that will preserve the beauty and the grandeur of this wonder of wonders, in so far as Congress can do so.

We must protect the "thunder of waters" of the aborigines, one of the most awe-inspiring spectacles ever seen by a human being, the scenic land of all lovers of natural scenery, the Mecca toward which thousands of people travel every year from all parts of the world—the tumultuous, tremendous, thundering Niagara Falls.

The scenic beauties of the Falls must not be destroyed, but must be preserved in all their marvelous splendor by this generation for all the ages yet to come. This is our duty. We are charged with this responsibility. We cannot and we must not evade it. These Niagara Falls do not belong to any country or to any people. They are the inalienable heritage of humanity, and one generation must preserve them in all their splendor for the benefit of the next generation.

We are the trustees of the natural grandeur and scenic glory of our beautiful land, charged by the sacred rights of mankind to transmit them unimpaired to future generations; and if we fail to preserve this beautiful pic-

ture in nature's art gallery for those who are to come after us we will be false to our duty, recreant to the trust reposed in us, and justly censurable by those who will follow after us.

JUSTICE TO THE LETTER CARRIERS.

Speech in Congress, February 19, 1902, on Mr. Sulzer's Bill to Increase the Pay of the Letter Carriers.

Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I am a friend of the letter carriers. I am proud to say that. The Government in all its service has no more honest, no more tireless, no more faithful employees. Their claims are just and should be recognized.

These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service, and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out—in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather—sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and taking all other employees in the various departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it cannot be denied that the letter carriers render the most and the hardest work for the smallest remuneration.

And yet, take them all in all, they are courteous, long suffering, uncomplaining, honest, assiduous and industrious. How few of our citizens ever think of their trials, their wants, their health, and their little ones at home. My sympathy is all with them—with their hopes and their sorrows.

To-day my heart goes out to them. I cannot refrain from making this appeal in their behalf for simple justice. How I wish it were in my power to aid them, to pass and enact into law my bill that they all want, that they all pray for; this bill that is so fair and so just, that appeals to every right-thinking citizen in all the land, and that challenges adverse criticism. How much time and money we waste here for useless and worthless

things! It is terrible when one soberly considers it all —and then, again, so much for the few, so little for the many. How easy for the powerful to pass a bill—a bad bill—and how difficult for the poor and the many, to pass a bill—a good bill.

How poorly, how miserably the letter carriers are paid! Under the present law they do not, and cannot, earn enough, no matter how long they have been in the service of the Government or how many hours a day they labor, to keep body and soul together. And what do they get? A mere pittance a month that is not enough to economically support one man. It is a disgrace, a crying shame. Many of these letter carriers have wives and children—little homes—and these wives and children in many cases are to-day in want.

The head of the household does not get paid enough by the Government to live halfway decently. But it is not the Government's fault, it is the fault of the Representatives here in Congress. I want to appeal to the Republicans and the Democrats of this House, in the name of justice and fair play, to do something for the poor letter carriers.

THE COPYRIGHT LAW.

Mr. Sulzer Is the Author of the Bill and Passed the Law.

Speaking in favor of it in Congress, March 3, 1909, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the Copyright Bill is a comprehensive measure, doing substantial justice to all interests concerned and should be enacted into law ere we adjourn.

It is a great stride along the path of honesty and a long step in advance along the road of progress. No favoritism is shown and no monopoly can be created. All manufacturers by paying a royalty fixed by this bill to the author or composer will have the same rights and the same privileges. So even-handed justice is done to all concerned and there can be no monopoly. All things considered I think the composers' rights in this bill are amply safeguarded.

I am most friendly disposed to the authors and composers of America. I made the stand for their rights. I fought their battle in the committee for three years, and I have won their fight. I would give them greater rights if I could, but the provision in this bill to protect their interests is the best I was able to secure for them, and they are, so I am informed, entirely satisfied with the bill as amended and now before the House.

Of course, many of the vital questions in dispute have been compromised. To secure a favorable report and immediate action in this Congress this had to be done. All legislation is more or less of a compromise, and this is especially so in a measure of so complicated a character and affecting so many interests, directly and indirectly, as the bill under consideration.

It is conceded by all who have given the present copy-

right laws the most superficial investigation that they are wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of modern civilization. Great progress has been made since the existing copyright laws were enacted years ago, and the courts have frequently declared that these ancient copyright laws are imperfect in definition, confusing in phraseology and inconsistent in construction. They fail to give the protection essentially demanded by modern conditions, are difficult of interpretation, and impossible of intelligent administration. Attempts to improve them by amendments have proved futile, and have only made them more incomprehensible and unsatisfactory.

This bill marks progress. It is a great step in advance. No legislative body in the world has yet taken such a forward movement along the line of protecting the rights of composers and authors as the measure under consideration.

This copyright compilation is a monumental work—the result of much care and labor—and so far as I am concerned a labor of love, because I have, from the very beginning, labored for justice to every interest affected along equitable and economical and utilitarian lines, ever bearing in mind the true welfare of the people.

So I think I can justly say this bill is in the interest of all the people. It is a fair and a just measure. It may not be absolutely perfect. It would not be the work of finite man if it were destitute of some defect. But if there be defects in it, they can speedily be remedied when the bill becomes a law and all its provisions more carefully studied and scrutinized. I want to see it pass the Congress to-day. I know that it will be a grave mistake if this House votes down this bill after the struggle we have had to get a favorable and a unanimous report. Do not now defeat it. If you do defeat this measure, it will delay copyright legislation for years, and the people of the country, when they realize it, will be sadly and grievously disappointed.

THE BUREAU OF CORPORATIONS.

MR. SULZER IS THE AUTHOR OF THE BUREAU OF CORPORATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE TO SECURE PUBLICITY REGARDING TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES, THE MOST IMPORTANT ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ANTI-TRUST ACT OF 1890.

Speaking in favor of this amendment in Congress, April 15, 1899, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, I desire to state briefly that my amendment brings before the House, as clearly and as positively as any proposition can, the question of whether the members of this House are in favor of publicity regarding the trusts or not. If we are sincerely in favor of publicity regarding the trusts we cannot, it seems to me, object to this amendment. If we want publicity we cannot object to the establishment of this bureau of corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor, for it is something which will create publicity and secure the information the Attorney-General says he wants in order to enforce the anti-trust laws.

In my opinion, it is the best plan for publicity yet devised and will secure the information that every citizen wants regarding the trusts of our country, and go far, in my judgment, to prevent violating the law now on the statute books. It has been stated by those more competent to judge perhaps than myself that if this amendment were a law no trust in this country could violate the law without detection.

I think this amendment ought to be adopted. It will be if those who oppose monopolies and want publicity regarding them vote for it.

MR. SULZER IS THE AUTHOR OF THE LAW MAKING 8 HOURS A LEGAL DAY'S WORK ON GOVERNMENT WORK.

Speaking for the bill in Congress, January 7, 1897, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, In my judgment, no man in this country ought to be compelled to work more than eight hours a day. We want fewer idle men and more work in this country.

I want to say that I am a friend of the wage-earner. I want to see, and I hope the day is not far distant when we all shall see an eight-hour law all over the land and rigidly enforced in every State in the country. I believe it will be beneficial to the laborer, advantageous to the community in which he lives, and for the best interest of the Government. Too long hours make the wage-earner a poor workman. Shorter hours, in my opinion, will produce better results.

I am and always have been an advocate of shorter hours for a legal work day. The history of the past teaches us that every reduction in the hours constituting a day's work has resulted beneficially.

These reductions in the hours of labor have decreased intemperance, increased knowledge, made better homes, happier and better clothed wives and children, brighter and more prosperous firesides, and in every way benefited the social relations, promoted happiness and contentment, and improved the moral, economical, and financial condition of the producing masses of our land.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

MR. SULZER IS THE AUTHOR OF THE BILL IN CONGRESS TO ERECT A MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON TO SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

In a speech in favor of the bill in Congress on May 3, 1910, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, Samuel J. Tilden died at his country house, "Greystone," Westchester County, N. Y., on the 4th day of August, 1886. He never married. Under the provisions of Mr. Tilden's will, the greater portion of his fortune, estimated at more than $5,000,000, was devoted to public uses, the chief of which was the establishment and endowment in the city of New York of a free public library.

The great power of Mr. Tilden consisted in his ability to concentrate his mind upon his work. Where others vaporized he crystallized. The realm of speculative philosophy had no attraction for him. He reduced statesmanship to one of the exact sciences. He treated a problem in government as he would a problem in mathematics; he took all the factors, discovered their relative value, and then used them. Glittering generalities were his abhorrence. Facts were his friends and figures his delight. His mental equipment was large; his horizon broad; his gift of prevision amounted almost to prophesy. He was a man of action. He did things. Few have so fully accomplished the tasks set before them. Few men have received so many unsought honors.

Out of this power of concentration sprang two anomalous characteristics—absolute fearlessness linked to great caution. Nobody who knew Mr. Tilden ever dreamed of frightening him. He was insensible to threats. He knew the right, and never faltered. He

disliked those who took counsel of their apprehensions. He was cautious. He never moved until he had provided against every possible contingency. He vindicated his courage in his designs and displayed his caution in the execution thereof. He did a bold thing in the summer of 1875, when, as governor of New York, he promised the people in his speeches at Buffalo, Syracuse, and Utica, that their taxes should be reduced by $6,000,000. But he did a cautious thing when he fixed the sum at six millions while he was paving the way for the reduction of eight millions—which was finally effected.

In 1862 Mr. Tilden told Secretary Stanton that a great military genius rose only once in two or three centuries. A great political reformer rises hardly as often as a military genius. The civic hero's task is more difficult, his labor more thankless, and his reward less certain. If it be ambition which induces an honest and fearless man to grapple with public thieves, well intrenched in power, then it is the same sort of ambition which prompts the patriotic soldier to volunteer to lead a forlorn hope in battle. Sometimes the leader of a forlorn hope succeeds, and great is his glory. Oftener the civic hero fails and is forgotten. The chances are so much against him that his very existence demonstrates his unselfishness.

It is almost impossible to sound the depths of the subtle nature of Samuel J. Tilden. He was a great student. His intellectual resources were inexhaustible. He lived in New York City for more than fifty years, mingling in the best society of the metropolis; but the manner of the student was upon him at all times. The great problems which he sought to solve—the problems that had eluded the efforts of other statesmen—engaged his attention to the time of his death. He prized at its full value the relaxation and comfort which his home life afforded him, but the largest share of his time for fifty years had been devoted to hard work, and had he so wished he could not have released himself from those habits of industry which were woven into the warp and woof of his very nature.

Years ago Martin Van Buren said of Samuel J. Tilden, "He is the most unambitious man I ever knew." His acquaintance with Tilden's boyhood, his appreciation of his talents, and his knowledge of the opportunities for advancement which he had rejected, led him to make the remark. He could not understand how a man might gratify a rational ambition by attending strictly to his professional pursuits, winning the confidence of those around him, and discharging faithfully his duties as a citizen. Yet that sphere of life filled the measure of Mr. Tilden's ambition, and would have filled it to the end if he had not been driven forward by circumstances stronger than he could control. He has been charged with overweening political ambition, and yet the truth is that he never sought a public position in his life. He has been accused of working for his own advancement. The accusation is without justification. Mr. Tilden worked for the advancement of a cause which he believed to be essential to the preservation of democratic institutions. He worked for an end, but he was no self-seeker. If he could have found his *alter ego*—some man who possessed the courage, the efficiency, the honesty, the energy, the intelligence, and the desire to bring about the reforms which he sought and which the country needed—he would have gladly supported that man for the Presidency in 1876, and remained in retirement himself. But the man was not to be found. Tilden had to lead, because he was in front—far ahead.

In June, 1876, the national Democratic convention, assembled at St. Louis, nominated Samuel J. Tilden for the Presidency. As finally declared, the electoral vote was 185 for Mr. Hayes and 184 for Mr. Tilden. The popular vote, as counted, gave Tilden 4,284,265, Hayes 4,033,295, Cooper 81,737, and Smith 9,522. Mr. Tilden was opposed to the Electoral Commission, declaring his belief in "the exclusive jurisdiction of the two Houses of the Congress to count the electoral votes by their own servants and under such instruction as they might deem proper to give."

Samuel J. Tilden was a great man—a great lawyer, a great patriot, a great statesman, a great philanthropist

—and he deserves a monument in the capital of his country. If he had become President he would have entered upon the duties and the responsibilities that would have fallen upon him not as one entering upon a holiday recreation, but very much in that spirit of patriotic consecration in which a great soldier enters a battle for human rights. He had drunk deep at the fountains of freedom and of patriotism. He gave to his country that love which others yield to wife and children. He was whole in himself, possessing firmness without obstinacy, courage without bravado, religion without cant. He was no hypocrite. To the call of civic duty he never hesitated. The traditions of the fathers were his inspiration. He stood for equal rights to all. He loved justice. The Constitution was his sheet anchor. He had no personal ends to serve, no other ambition than to save the Republic from the canker of corruption which ate out the heart of every republic of ancient times. He believed we were only trustees for future generations, and would be recreant to our trust if we failed to hand down to them unimpaired the free institutions we now enjoy.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, patriotic America agrees with me that Samuel J. Tilden deserves a monument. In counting up that long array of names whom the people have honored by electing to the highest office in their power, the future historian will linger long to inquire whether it was a fraud or a blunder that robbed the great reformer of New York of a seat that he was so eminently qualified to fill, and regarding that I have no fears as to the final verdict impartial history will record in the annals of America.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN BIGELOW TO CONGRESSMAN SULZER.

21 Gramercy Park, May 11, 1910.

Hon. William Sulzer.

Dear Sir: I have learned with great pleasure of your efforts to secure the authority and aid of Congress to erect a suitable monument at the capital to commemorate the public services of the late Samuel J. Tilden.

Among the great public benefactors of this nation it would be difficult to name another whose public services were indebted in so inconsiderable a degree to the prestige and advantages of office. It would be still more difficult to name another who made equal sacrifices of time and fortune for the accomplishment of the memorable reforms in the municipal and state governments of New York which are imperishably associated with his name. But it would be impossible to name another governor any of whose messages were published in full by the press of so many other States of the Union, or even in any other State of the Union, than his own, as it was the distinguished fortune of nearly all of his to be. I think I shall be doing no injustice to any citizen, governor, or President of the United States when I say that the public papers of Mr. Tilden have never been surpassed for soundness of statesmanship, lucidity of expression, and unassailable logic by any other American statesman, whether in or out of office.

Though prevented by the limited means of his parents and a delicate constitution of his own from enjoying but very limited advantages of early education, and from his early life dependent upon his own resources for a livelihood, he rose to a commanding position in the legal profession and amassed by it what in his day was regarded

as an enviable fortune. After providing generously for his kin—he never married—four-fifths at least of his large fortune he bequeathed to his executors as his trustees for the establishment of a library in the city in which his money had been earned. The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation in a few months will give to the American public one of the half dozen largest collections of books in the world, stored by the munificence of the New York municipality in one of the most perfectly equipped structures for its purpose in the world.

If the United States has produced any statesman, barrister, or citizen whose private and public character entitles him to a memorial which shall serve to recall a character to be admired, an example to be imitated, and a career in which succeeding generations will take increasing pride, it was Samuel J. Tilden.

I doubt if your colleagues can make any appropriation likely to commend itself to so large a proportion of the people of the United States to-day as that for which you are—I hope successfully—applying.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN BIGELOW.

TAKE THE TAXES OFF THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

Mr. Sulzer Is the Author of the Bill in Congress to Take Off All Taxes on the Necessaries of Life.

Speaking in favor of the bill in Congress, March 31, 1909, he said:

Mr. Speaker, we know to-day beyond all contention that the tariff is a tax, and beyond all dispute that the consumers pay the taxes. Ultimately nearly all the burdens of tariff taxation fall upon the consumers of the country. Protection for protection's sake is a system of indirect taxation that robs the many for the benefit of the few. No party that stands for the best interests of all the people can support it, especially where it fosters trusts, shelters monopolies, and saddles the great burdens of government on the farmer and the wage-earner of the country.

The Republicans now tell us that they will revise the tariff schedules of the Dingley law, but they do not tell us whether they will revise the tariff up or down. They may, if they are continued in power, revise the tariff taxes at some future time, but if they do, I am satisfied they will make the taxes higher instead of lower, and legislate for monopoly instead of man. The protection policy of the Republican party is absurd. We should reduce the high cost of living by taking off the tariff taxes from all the necessaries of life.

For more than ten years the increasing cost of living, mounting higher and higher each succeeding year, has been the most immediate, the most pressing and the most universally observed fact about economic conditions in this country. During all this period, while wages have

remained practically the same, and the cost of the necessaries of life have been going higher and higher, and growing more and more oppressive, the promise has been held out by the Republicans that when they got around to tariff revision something would be done to remedy those inequitable conditions. But what was the result? The mockery of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law—making matters worse instead of better. The people are tired of being humbugged. Ever since 1896 the average man has been gradually losing his hold on the means of physical existence.

IN FAVOR OF A GENERAL PARCELS POST.

MR. SULZER IS THE AUTHOR OF THE BILL FOR A GENERAL PARCELS POST IN CONGRESS.

Speaking in favor of the bill on April 23, 1912, Mr. Sulzer said:

Mr. Speaker, the post office is one of the oldest governmental institutions, an agency established by the earliest civilizations to enable the people to inform themselves as to the plans and movements of their friends and foes, and from the dawn of history the only limit the people have placed upon this service has been the capacity of the existing transport machinery.

The cursus publicus of imperial Rome—the post office of the Roman Cæsars—covered the entire business of transportation and transmission, and with its splendid post roads, swift post horses, and ox post wagons, the Roman post office was a mechanism far wider in its scope than that of our modern post office; and, except for the use of mechanical power, the old Roman post was far more efficient in its service to the people than our modern post office in its service to American citizens.

The evil of the Roman post office, and the royal postal service that succeeded it, was its restriction to the enrichment of the ruling powers. They were the prototypes of our modern express companies, which have for their chief end the enrichment of their stockholders rather than the promotion of the public welfare.

As far back as 1837 Rowland Hill, of England, promulgated to the world the law that once a postal-transport service is in operation the cost of its use is regardless of the distance traversed upon the moving machinery by any unit of traffic within its capacity, and upon this law he established the English penny-letter post of 1839.

In this country the people own the post office and want to use it as their postal express company. Its end is to keep them informed, to make known their wishes, to provide means by which they may communicate with their fellow citizens for their mutual benefit, to supply their wants, and dispose of their wares at the least possible cost, in the shortest possible time, and with the greatest possible security.

The postal system of rates, regardless of distance, regardless of the character of the matter transported, and regardless of the volume of the patron's business, eminently fits it for this great service. That it will sooner or later be greatly extended is absolutely certain, and the people will duly appreciate the aid of those who assist in its extension and development for their benefit and advantage.

The people demand and have demanded for several years a general parcels post. I know the people of the country favor its inauguration. I feel confident its establishment will be of inestimable benefit and advantage to the producers and to the consumers and to all concerned.

Just think of it. A person living in any part of Europe can send to any part of the United States by mail a parcel weighing two and one-half times more than the United States limit for about one-third less in cost than the present home rates. In other words, the world postal-union package unit is 11 pounds to the parcel, at the rate of 12 cents per pound, whereas the United States unit is only 4 pounds to the package and at a cost of 16 cents to the pound. The parcel rate in the United States prior to 1879 was 8 cents per pound for a package limited to a weight of 4 pounds. After that the rate was doubled, but the weight remained the same. Since 1879 the cost of transportation has greatly decreased. The question is, Why should not the people be given the benefit of this decrease by the establishment of a uniform low postal rate for parcels that will encourage the use of the post office as a medium of exchange of commodities and thus greatly facilitate trade?

The neglect of the United States to establish a gen-

eral parcels post has for years limited the easy exchange of commodities and merchandise between producers and manufacturers and the consumers, and it has placed our Government far behind the times in progressive legislation for the people.

It is a fact that to-day under the English-post-American-express arrangement parcels can now be sent from any part of Great Britain to any part of the United States at the following rates: Three pounds for 30 cents, 7 pounds for 49 cents, and 11 pounds for 79 cents. And under the British contract with the American Express Co. these parcels are transported from one end of this country to the other, 3 pounds for 36 cents, 3 to 7 pounds for 48 cents, and 7 to 11 pounds for 60 cents. Meantime the express companies tax domestic merchandise of the same weight from 75 cents to $5.50, according to the distance traversed, while the post office taxes the public for a similar domestic service on a 3-pound parcel 48 cents, on a 7-pound parcel in two packages $1.12, and on an 11-pound parcel in three packages, $1.76.

What a spectacle is presented to-day to the Congress of the United States when we witness this unjust discrimination against our own people in favor of the foreigners. Who owns the post-office facilities in the United States, the people of Europe or the people of America? That is the question the voters are asking us and are going to ask every Member of Congress in the coming campaign. I know where I stand. My position cannot be misunderstood. I stand for the people when the people are right, and they never were more right in all their lives than they are to-day when they appeal to their Representatives in Congress to give them what every other civilized government on earth has —a general parcels post.

Our failure to provide a general parcels post is causing to the post office a needless loss of $38,000,000 a year, and to the public a loss of hundreds of millions, while at the same time we deprive the carriers of an opportunity to earn a reasonable living; and the time is now at hand for Congress to heed the insistent demand

of the people for an extended parcels post along the lines of my bill, the express companies to the contrary notwithstanding.

The people are going to win this fight. The citizens of the United States are certainly entitled to utilize the advantages of their own post-office system the same as the people in Europe now do; and they would gladly do so if the Congress would only enact a law, and to this end I appeal to the patriotic Members of Congress to lend a helping hand in this struggle for genuine postal reform.

It is because I realize the force of these truths so keenly that I am so persistent in urging favorable consideration of my bill for a general parcels post. Its only fault, in my opinion, is its conservatism. What this country now needs, what Congress should give it, is a general parcels post covering all the business of postal transportation, with a maximum weight of 11 pounds at 8 cents or less a pound.

It is ridiculous for anybody to say that the Government cannot do a general parcels post business. It is too preposterous for argument. Of course the Government can do it, and can do it a great deal better and a good deal cheaper and more advantageously than the express company. The Government has a contract with the railways by which the railways must carry the mail —the parcels post is mail. The mail now goes for thousands of miles all over the country. What do the mail cars contain? A few sacks of mail; that is all. The mail cars should be utilized to their maximum capacity. That is economy. They ought to be filled with mail—parcels and letters. We are paying the railroads; the mail cars are ours. We ought to utilize them to their maximum capacity and to their utmost efficiency. We are not doing it now. Why are we not doing it? Because the express companies are doing the parcels post business of the Government. You can see how cheaply the Government can do it. We do not need many more employees to do it. All we need is to do our duty and pass the law.

Those who understand the question are familiar with

the fundamental law of economics promulgated and established by Mr. Hill years ago. Let me say over again that as far back as 1837 Rowland Hill, of England, promulgated to the world the economic law that once a public transport service is in operation the cost of its use is regardless of the distance traversed upon the moving machinery by any unit of traffic within its capacity. That principle is so well understood to-day by every student of political economy that it cannot now be successfully questioned or controverted. A general parcels post, once established with reasonable rates, regardless of distance, regardless of the character of the matter transported, and regardless of the volume of the patron's business, is eminently fitted for great service to the people. That it should be extended over the entire field of postal transportation is absolutely certain.

The assertion that a general parcels post law will injure the small country merchant is ridiculous. I am a friend of the country merchant. I was born and brought up in the country and I know the country merchant. I would do nothing to injure him. What will this general parcels post bill do? I will tell you what it will do. The general parcels post may hurt, to some extent, the express companies. It may hurt, to some extent, the middlemen; but I am not legislating for the welfare of the middlemen or for the good of the express companies. I am legislating for the people—for the consumer—and I know that a general parcels post will bring the producer and the manufacturer and the consumer closer together, and go far to cheapen the cost of the necessaries of life; and any bill that will bring the producer and the consumer closer together and cheapen the cost of the necessaries of life to the people of America always did and always will have my support.

MR. SULZER'S SPEECH ON THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR APPROPRIATION BILL.

MR. SULZER IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHICH PREPARED AND PASSED THIS BILL.

Speaking on the Bill in Congress, April 25, 1912, MR. SULZER *said:*

Mr. SPEAKER, I want to explain this conference report. The diplomatic and consular appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, as reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs and as it passed the House, carried in the neighborhood of $500,000 less than the appropriations for the last fiscal year and over $800,000 less than the estimates submitted for the next fiscal year. The pruning of the estimates submitted for various purposes was conscientiously done where it could be afforded the most easily without present or future injury to any agency of the Government provided for in this appropriation bill.

This bill was carefully prepared and considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and reported to the House unanimously. The total estimates submitted aggregated $4,449,697.41; the amount appropriated for the last fiscal year was $3,988,516.41; the bill as it passed the House, carrying the appropriations for the next fiscal year, totaled $3,418,791.41, which was $569,825 less than last year's appropriations.

The Senate increased the appropriations $369,566. The bill as agreed on finally in conference between the Senate and the House conferees now carries appropriations for the fiscal year of 1913 of $3,638,047.41, which is $811,650 less than the estimates, and is $350,469 less than the appropriations in the last diplomatic and consular appropriation bill.

We have saved the taxpayers in this bill—at least $350,000 less than last year. Think of that. That is a considerable saving to the taxpayers of the country. I speak advisedly when I say that there has not been for years an appropriation bill from any committee of this House which went so far along the lines of real economy as the present diplomatic and consular appropriation bill for the next fiscal year. But more. The bill as agreed upon in conference is $350,469 less than the appropriations for the current year—that is, the year 1912—and over $800,000 less than the estimates submitted by the department. That is a saving of more than 25 per cent. on the estimates, and more than 10 per cent. between the amount appropriated last year and the amount appropriated this year—quite an item.

This is the first annual appropriation bill to pass this Congress, and if every one of the other appropriation bills does as well as has been done in this appropriation bill, which saves the taxpayers more than 10 per cent. between last year and this year, it will aggregate a net saving to the taxpayers of the United States for the fiscal year 1913 of over $125,000,000. That will speak well for economy. The record of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for economy this year speaks for itself, and deserves the commendation of this House and the taxpayers of the country.

Now a few words regarding the foreign service. For every dollar that we appropriate for the foreign service the people of the United States get back in actual money which goes into the Treasury Department about 15 per cent. But, as a matter of fact, for every dollar expended in our foreign service there comes back, directly or indirectly, to the taxpayers and the business people of the country a hundred dollars for one. Our Department of State is the most economical branch of the entire Government, and nobody can successfully controvert the statement.

The value of the foreign service to the Government, to American commerce, and to the individual citizen is now recognized and cannot be gainsaid. It is no longer merely political, but it has become, to a large extent, an

efficient non-partisan instrument for the expansion of American commerce and the extension of American enterprise, securing for American commercial interests fair and equal trade opportunity with the peoples of other countries, and it assures to the individual citizen the protection of his rights the world over. It is through its agency that the entire business of the Government in its relations with other Governments is conducted; and, as I said, for every dollar expended for the foreign service the people of the United States receive directly or indirectly one hundred for one in return.

There is not a dollar appropriated in this bill that is not absolutely necessary; there is not an item in the bill that should be stricken out, and if it were it would subject us to severe condemnation on the part of the business people of the United States. I will do nothing to cripple the Department of State, which is doing so much for our foreign trade and commerce. It is a matter of gratification for me to say—and I know I voice the sentiments of our people generally—that there never was a time in the history of our country when our Diplomatic and Consular Service was so efficient and on so high a plane as it is to-day.

I am broad-minded enough to declare that, so far as I am concerned, in the future as in the past I shall do everything in my power to continue to improve the personnel and the efficiency of our foreign service, and in so far as may be possible lift it completely out of the slough of partisan politics and put it where it belongs, upon the high, impregnable ground of the merit system, where talent, ability, competency, fitness, and experience shall be the sole qualifications for appointment and promotion.

EULOGY ON THE LATE SENATOR STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

In Congress, January 7, 1912.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER, as a friend for many years of Senator Elkins I come to-day to place on record my tribute of respect to his memory. He was my friend and evidenced it in many ways during the time we served together in the Congress of the United States. In his unexpected death the State he represented here so long, so intelligently, and so industriously was deprived of one of its foremost citizens; the Republic lost a loyal and a patriotic public servant; his bereaved family a loving husband and an indulgent father; and his innumerable friends, from one end of the land to the other, a safe counselor, a sagacious advocate, and a wise and consistent champion.

One had to know Senator Elkins intimately to know the real, true man. He was warm-hearted, broad-minded, and tolerant. He was alert in thought and quick in speech. He was dignified and sympathetic. He was a man who stood high among the constructive statesmen of his time; he lived above the commonplace and sought his friends and did his work on the higher level of purpose and of intellectuality, of usefulness, and of strict integrity.

He served his State and his country well, and he served in all things that were elevating and lasting. The sterling manhood that was in him recognized both the duty and the opportunity, and lifted his service into the light of lasting companionship and the reality of good example. He was a diligent student of affairs, and in all matters of moment he carefully searched for the

truth. What he said was based not on impulse but on sincere conviction. There was no forced attempt at brilliancy in his oratory. He was a direct man and spoke simply and truly and honestly. He was a man of clean thought and of clean speech; his inner life was carefully swept and generously garnished, so that all could quickly tell what sort of man was the distinguished Senator of West Virginia. He was an indefatigable worker, and he fell by the wayside at the zenith of his public service because strength was exhausted and nature demanded her long rest.

In many ways it can be truly said of Senator Elkins that he was a brilliant man, a constructive stateman, who took a prominent part in all the great debates of his time. He wrote lasting laws on our statute books, and by his industry and ability, together with his courteous manners and his genial ways, won the lifelong respect and the lasting admiration of his colleagues and his fellow citizens.

Stephen Benton Elkins was a child of the great West. He was born in Perry County, Ohio, September 26, 1841; he received his early education in the public schools of Missouri and graduated from the university of that State, at Columbia, in the class of 1860; he was admitted to the bar in 1864 and in the same year went to New Mexico, where he acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language and began the practice of the law. He was a member of the Territorial Legislative Assembly of New Mexico in 1864 and 1865, and held the offices of Territorial district attorney, attorney general, and United States district attorney. He was elected to the Forty-third Congress and while abroad was renominated and elected to the Forty-fourth Congress. During the time he served in Congress he was made a member of the Republican national committee, on which he served for three presidential campaigns. After leaving Congress he moved to West Virginia and devoted himself to his business affairs. He was appointed Secretary of War December 17, 1891, and served until the close of President Harrison's administration. In February, 1894, he was elected to the United States Senate, to suc-

ceed Hon. Johnson N. Camden, and was re-elected in 1901 by every vote of the Republican members of the legislature, giving him a majority of 40 on joint ballot. He was again unanimously re-elected in 1907 and served in the Senate until his untimely death. Such in brief is the brilliant record of S. B. Elkins, and it demonstrates anew the hope and the opportunities of the Republic. What a splendid and triumphant career!

When Senator Elkins passed away, at the summit of his congressional life, he had made an enviable record for statesmanship and for usefulness, not only for the benefit of his constituents but for the good of the whole country. We have missed him much here since his long departure, and as the days come and go we who knew him well will miss him more and more. The work he did for the people will live in the history of his State and of his country. The good he did will grow brighter and brighter as the years pass away until it becomes his lasting monument, more enduring than marble or brass and forever sacred in the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

We mourn and sympathize with his beloved family, but we find words of comfort and of consolation in his noble life, his generous character, his sympathetic nature, and the great work he accomplished for his country. His deeds of kindness, of charity, and of generosity will ever keep alive his memory and frequently call to recollection the glory of his name.

"The memory of good deeds will ever stay,
A lamp to light us on the darkened way.
A music to the ear on clamoring street,
A cooling well amid the noonday heat,
A scent of green boughs blown through narrow walls,
A feel of rest when quiet evening falls."

Senator Elkins was a true man, a lover of justice, a believer in the supremacy of law, a friend of every cause that lacked assistance. He stood for eternal principles of right, and believed in the opportunity vouchsafed to every one under the dome of the Union sky.

He was no skeptic, no scoffer, no cynic. He was broad and liberal in his views, had charity for all, trusted the people, and never lost faith in humanity. He knew the world was growing better, and he believed in the greater and the grander destiny of his country.

He hated cant and despised hypocrisy. He had a sunshiny disposition and a forgiving spirit that never harbored revenge. He was a plain, simple man, who loved his fellow man. He will live in the hearts of those he left behind, and to do this is not to die. He was a great worker, and succeeded in accomplishing what he undertook to do. He was a true son of our native soil, the friend of the toiler, and the eloquent advocate of the oppressed. He tried to lift his fellow man up to a higher plane and help him forward on the highway of progress and of civilization. He was a fearless man and ever dared to do what he thought was right regardless of the consequences. He was a faithful public official, and died in the service of his country. His work here is done. His career on earth is finished. He has run his course; he kept the faith; he fought the good fight; he has reaped his everlasting reward in the great beyond, and we, his friends, can all most truly say, Well done, thou good and faithful servant of a grateful people.

ALASKA—THE WONDERLAND OF THE WORLD.

SPEECH OF MR. SULZER, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN FAVOR OF THE ALASKA HOME RULE BILL, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17, 1912.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Alaska is a wonderland. Nine-tenths of the people of our country have no idea of the vastness of her boundaries, the extent of her domain, the grandeur of her scenery, the salubrity of her climate, the greatness of her mountains, the length of her rivers, the possibilities of her fisheries and her forests; the grazing advantages in her valleys for sheep and cattle; her splendid agricultural resources; her incalculable mineral wealth; and her splendid homes for the multitude in the land up there that spells opportunity for the earnest worker and the brave pioneer.

Alaska is a marvelous land. She would make 470 States of the size of Rhode Island. She has the greatest gold, and iron, and copper, and lead, and coal, and tin deposits in North America. Alaska has 599,446 square miles of territory—more than 383,645,440 acres of land—and the greatest fishing waters in all the world, teeming with the best food fish on earth.

Alaska is God's country. She is over twice the size of the German Empire; 14 times the size of the State of New York; and has more copper known to-day than Michigan and Arizona combined. She is one-fifth the size of the entire United States; has paid for herself five times over in money actually collected in Alaska and deposited in the Federal Treasury. Alaska was purchased from Russia for $7,200,000, less than 2 cents an acre, and has produced in gold and silver alone more than 29

times what she cost—the cheapest bargain in land in the annals of time.

Alaska has a known coal-bearing area larger than all the rest of the coal-bearing area in the United States. Alaska has the greatest cattle and sheep ranges now in the north, and agricultural possibilities beyond the imagination of the finite mind—a mighty empire is Alaska that welcomes heroic man.

What does Alaska want? Alaska demands home rule —the right of her people to govern themselves—an inherent American right that Congress has never denied to any of our people in any part of our domain in all our past, and which should no longer be denied to the hardy men who have gone to the northland and made their homes in Alaska. The Alaskans want Territorial government. They want the right that every other Territory in the Union had—the right to make their own local laws, to levy their own local taxes, to regulate their own internal affairs, and to spend the money gathered by the tax collector for their own use, for their own schools, for their own charitable institutions, for their own municipal affairs, for their own trails and roads, and for their own peace and happiness. This is not asking too much. It is a fundamental right.

Alaska is entitled to local self-government. She has a population at the present time of upward of 60,000 *bona fide* citizens. It is true they are scattered over a vast territory, but it is also true that they are an honest, brave, intelligent, sober, God-fearing people who are our kin, and who ought to be treated as American citizens.

Alaska is one-fifth the size of the United States. Here is the map of Alaska. Look at it. Study it. If you take this map in actual area and put it on the map of the United States proper, one part of Alaska will be in the Atlantic Ocean opposite Charleston; another part of Alaska will be in the Pacific Ocean opposite San Francisco; another part of Alaska will be in the Gulf of Mexico south of New Orleans; and another part of Alaska will be in Canada north of the Great Lakes. People have no conception of the vastness of this territory, and there has been disseminated throughout this country

for several years past more misinformation regarding Alaska and her resources and her people than about any other matter of public moment in the recent history of our country.

Let us examine this map. This part of Alaska is called southeastern Alaska; this part of Alaska is called southwestern Alaska; and this part of Alaska is called northern Alaska. These divisions marked on this map are the natural divisions of Alaska. Nature made them. Congress can not change them. In a straight line from Cape Chacon, in southeastern Alaska, to Point Barrow, in northwestern Alaska, is about 3,000 miles. In a straight line from Cuba to Greenland is less than 3,000 miles, and there is nearly as much difference in the climatic conditions in Alaska on the Pacific coast as there is between Cuba and Greenland on the Atlantic coast. The climate of our Atlantic coast is governed to some extent by the Gulf Stream. The climate on the Alaskan coast is governed almost entirely by the wonderful Japan current, and the influence of that inexplicable current is much greater than the Gulf Stream. Southeastern Alaska has a mild climate winter and summer. The mean temperature at Sitka is the same as the mean temperature at Washington, D. C. Southwestern Alaska has a climate similar to the climate of southern Canada. North of the Yukon River to the Arctic Ocean Alaska has a cold climate in winter and a hot climate during the short summer months. Southeastern Alaska is composed largely of beautiful islands. It is a mineral and a fishing country, rich now, and destined to become more so. Some of these islands in southeastern Alaska are heavily timbered with pine, spruce, hemlock, and red and yellow cedar.

The timber resources of these islands in southeastern Alaska are invaluable, and thus far they have never known the sound of the woodman's ax. They are virgin forests. The fishing industries in southeastern Alaska are becoming the greatest in the world. According to the Government report, there are over 30 different kinds of food fishes, and only last summer the United States Fish Commission boat, the *Albatross,* found the habitat

of these fish on the great banks off the coast of Alaska—the home of the salmon and the halibut and the herring and the mackerel. This part of Alaska will furnish for years and years to come enough food fish to supply the wants of the people of the United States. Southeastern Alaska will never be an agricultural country, because it is too mountainous. It has no valleys and no rivers, but it has an ideal climate, and it is going to be the sportsman's and the poor man's and the sick man's paradise. It is a saying up there, "That when the tide is out the table is set," because no poor man need go hungry in southeastern Alaska unless he wants to do so. He can live on the products of the sea.

Southwestern Alaska, from the international boundary line to the Aleutian Islands, is a wonderful country and quite different from southeastern Alaska. This part of Alaska is rich in mineral wealth; incomparable in its possibilities for cattle and agriculture, and part of it is well timbered and exceedingly fertile. There are great valleys in this part of Alaska—the Copper River Valley, the Susitna Valley, the Yetna Valley, the Tanana Valley, and the Valley of the Kuskokwim—all awaiting development. It is estimated that in this section of Alaska there is at least half as much coal as there is in all the rest of the United States, and within its confines are the greatest cattle and sheep ranges under the American flag. Here is the land for the immigrant. Here is the place for the home-seeker. In these valleys are vast stretches of arable lands much greater in area than some of the States of the Union; and this part of Alaska alone, it is said by those who are competent to testify, can support a people larger than the population of Norway and Sweden and Finland and Denmark combined.

Look again on the map. On the hills here in southwestern Alaska are great cattle ranges, and here in abundance grows what is called buffalo grass—grass that stands 5 or 6 feet high, rich in saccharine matter; and the cattle graze out here all the year without protection from the weather. It is a superior country for cattle grazing to anything in our Northern States. They have no blizzards, and the winters, although cold, have very

little snow, and the climate is dry and invigorating. Cattle graze there all the year round, and they are fatter and in better condition in the spring than they are in the fall. What a country for the cattlemen!

Alaska north of the Yukon is a vast country, stretching away from the Yukon River to the Arctic Ocean. This part of Alaska has very little timber. It is a barren land and essentially a mining country. It is rich in mineral resources, in copper, and gold, and tin, and coal, and various other kinds of minerals. This part of Alaska will always be sparsely inhabited by a migratory population, by people who go there to mine, and when the mines are worked out they will come away.

Southwestern Alaska, however, is destined in the next 25 years to have a permanent agricultural and cattle-raising population, and the day will come when this part of Alaska will contain and sustain several millions of people. It has now a permanent population of thousands who have gone there and been there for many years, many of whom were born there and they intend to stay there. Mark what I say, the day will come when southeastern and southwestern Alaska will be States in this Union.

Alaska's production of mineral wealth is growing apace. The mineral production for 1911 is estimated at $20,370,000, of which $17,150,000 was gold. The gold production of 1910 amounted to $16,128,749. The copper output is estimated at 22,900,000 pounds in 1911, against 4,241,689 pounds in 1910. Alaskan mines and quarries also produced silver, tin, coal, marble, and gypsum to an estimated value of $390,000, an increase of $200,000 over 1910. The total value of Alaska's mineral production since 1880, when mining first began, is, in round numbers, $206,000,000, or more than 29 times the sum paid to Russia for the Territory.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken of Alaskan resources as a reason for her recognition. Her mines of gold, silver, iron, coal, tin, and copper, already known to be great, are considered by many practically inexhaustible. She has the largest stamp mill in the world at Treadwell and bids fair to become the greatest gold-producing country

on earth. The rapid development of the gold and silver mining industry of Alaska during the past few years is shown by the fact that the production has advanced from about $3,000,000 in 1896 to about $17,000,000 in 1910. This will increase rather than diminish. At present the value of the precious metals lies chiefly in the gold placers of Nome and the interior regions. In the Nome region some 5,000 square miles are known to carry auriferous gravels, while in the Yukon Basin the area of auriferous gravels is probably several times as large. But it is not all placer mining. Gov. Clark says that quartz mining is the kind in which Alaska will be preeminent in the near future and that even now it is affording the finest illustration in the world of profitable working of low-grade ores.

In the coast region of southeastern Alaska mining for gold, copper, and silver has been going on for a number of years. The development of this industry has been especially rapid since 1898, and it promises to become one of the most important mining districts of the country.

The discovery of vast copper deposits in Alaska was made only a few years ago. Copper mining is now being done in several districts, and many tons of copper ore are being shipped weekly to the smelters. The investigations of the past two years have shown, however, that there are unquestionably vast undeveloped copper deposits in many other districts of Alaska. The coal of Alaska embraces lignites, bituminous, and anthracite. Coal has been found in nearly every part of Alaska, both on the coast and in the interior. The coal is so widely distributed that it must be regarded as one of its most important resources. It is a conservative estimate to place the area occupied by the coal-bearing rocks at 30,000 square miles. Accurate statements can not be made as to the figures of the fish industry for the year 1911, but it can be said that it has been continually growing and is still in its infancy. More than 30 varieties of food fish inhabit the Alaskan waters. The output of salmon now amounts to more than $15,000,000 a year. Alaska can feed the fish-eating people of the world.

Considering the resources and the vast possibilities of

Alaska—and all of these statements can be proved by records on file in the various departments of the Government—considering, I say, what is absolutely known, and which can not be successfully controverted, I stand here as a Representative of the people on the floor of the American Congress and ask why Alaskans should not have the right to govern themselves? Why they should not have home rule? Why they should not have a Territorial government? I pause for a reply in the negative.

No true American can deny Alaska home rule. No patriotic citizen will object to the Alaskans having a local legislature and the right to make their own local laws. Under the terms of this Territorial bill each of these four divisions indicated on this map will have two representatives in the senate elected by the people, and four representatives in the assembly elected by the people, and the cost of this local self-government will be so infinitesimal in comparison to the great wealth that Alaska is pouring into the American Treasury that we shall hereafter wonder why Alaska was denied for so long local self-government.

Mr. Speaker, I have been to Alaska several times. I know something about that vast domain. I know something about the sentiments of the people who live there, and I stand here and declare that the people of Alaska want Territorial government; and, knowing the facts as I do, I unhesitatingly say, and I defy successful refutation, that under all the circumstances Alaska is now, and long has been, entitled to Territorial government, and Congress ought to give it to the Alaskans without any more delay. Alaska is an anomaly in the history of our Territories. I know that the people of Alaska are, in every point of view, abundantly capable of maintaining a local form of government such as has always heretofore been accorded the Territories of the United States, and I deprecate the idea of further burdening the Congress with purely local legislation, as it is the duty of the Delegate to press upon the attention of Congress in the absence of Territorial organization. In my opinion, such legislation can safely be intrusted to the people of Alaska themselves, and, in my judgment, this bill pro-

viding for the same should be passed, according to her people the measure of self-government to which they are justly entitled, and which has never heretofore, except in the case of Alaska, been withheld from any considerable body of American citizens engaged in the settlement of a new district.

For years the people in Alaska have been asking for this boon. For years it has been wrongfully denied them. At last it appears to me, if I am any judge of popular opinion, that the Alaskans are going to get Territorial government by a practically unanimous vote in this House; and when this bill passes, as I hope it soon will, the Senate will pass it and the President will sign it. Then half the Alaska problem will be solved, many of her troubles will be reduced to a minimum, and Alaska will grow and prosper more in the next few years than she has in all the sad years of the past.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to Territorial government Alaska needs two other very important things. One is —better lighthouse service—more navigation lights. We do nothing like as much for our vast Territory of Alaska as the Canadian Government does for British Columbia. From Cape Chacon, Alaska, down to the State of Washington is all Canadian territory, called British Columbia. Along this coast is the inside passage, going to and coming from Alaska. All the ships from Puget Sound that go to southeastern Alaska and many of the vessels that go to southwestern Alaska take this inside passage, and for scenic beauty, for recreation, for health, and for pleasure it is the grandest waterway on all this earth.

The inside passage through Norway to the North Cape and the inside passage through the Straits of Magellan combined are not as grand and as beautiful as the inside passage from Puget Sound to the head of the Lynn Canal, a distance on water as calm as a mill pond for more than a thousand miles. People who have traveled all over the world, who have seen all the wonders of nature, hold their breath in silent admiration when they see the scenic wonders of the inside passage to Alaska. As a panorama of changing scenes of grandeur it is glorious beyond description. Thousands and thousands of tour-

ists make this trip every summer. Yet our Government is derelict in that it does not furnish for Alaska proper lights and lighthouses to safeguard navigation and protect life and commerce along our Alaskan shores. Every year there are two or three wrecks; every year there are lives lost, and all for want of navigation safeguards.

We are standing to-day in the shadow of one of the greatest marine disasters in all history. The tragedy of the *Titanic* appalls us. We are speechless in the presence of this awful catastrophe. More than a thousand lives went down into the depths of the sea with hardly a moment's warning when the *Titanic* struck. The horror of it all is indescribable. The people of the world mourn.

But every ship that makes this trip through the inside passage to and from Alaska is loaded with human freight, tourists, health seekers, pleasure seekers, our friends, our relatives, and our neighbors, and for lack of proper safeguards is liable to strike a hidden rock, or run upon an iceberg, or collide with a sister ship in the fog. It is criminal for the Government to neglect longer the installation of proper lights on the Alaskan coast.

Alaska has a tremendous coast line. The coast line of the United States on the Atlantic, on the Gulf, and on the Pacific is a little less than 8,000 miles. Our coast line in Alaska, from Cape Chacon around to Herschel Island in the Arctic Ocean, is over 20,000 miles. Yet for thousands of miles of that bleak and dangerous coast we have not a light, nor a safeguard to navigation. This is a crying need, and I hope the Committee on Appropriations will heed the insistent demands of the Lighthouse Board and make substantial appropriations in the future to give Alaska better lights along her coasts.

Mr. Speaker, another important thing the people of Alaska need is better transportation facilities. How shall our people settle in Alaska when they can not get around on land in that vast Territory? It is almost as difficult for people to travel in Alaska without transportation facilities as it is to journey on the Atlantic Ocean without a boat. Give Alaska decent transportation and you will find that our people in the United States will not be selling their farms in Iowa, in Minnesota, and in

the Dakotas and taking their families, their money, and their possessions and going to Canada. They will go to Alaska. But they can not get around there now, because Alaska has very little transportation except water transportation. We have no transportation in southwestern Alaska save one railroad running from Cordova up to a copper mine. Alaska wants more dirt roads and more railroads through this great country.

Look at the map again. Here is Resurrection Bay in southwestern Alaska—one of the great harbors of the world. All the fleets of the Pacific can ride safely at anchor in this magnificent bay and be invulnerable to attack. It is the greatest natural harbor we own in the north Pacific.

If anything should happen to our North Pacific Fleet it would have no port to make nearer than San Francisco, or Pearl Harbor, in the Hawaiian Islands. The fleet could not succeed in getting through the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Resurrection Bay is 1,800 miles nearer the Orient than either San Francisco or Puget Sound, and it is the best place in the north Pacific for this Government to have a naval base and a harbor of safety in case of emergency on the north Pacific Ocean.

The people of the United States, for their own welfare, should build a railroad from Resurrection Bay to the interior of Alaska to open the Tanana Valley, the Susitna Valley, and the wonderful Kuskokwim Valley. Then the people who leave our country to better their condition will go to Alaska and settle there. They will go up there and cultivate the ground and till the soil. They will develop the agricultural resources of the country. They will take advantage of the cattle ranges and produce enough meat to supply the wants of our people. They will produce mineral wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. A Government railroad from Resurrection Bay to the Yukon, opening up these wonderful valleys, would also develop the greatest coal deposits on this continent —the Matanuska coal fields.

Here are millions of acres of the finest anthracite coal on earth, and of the best bituminous coal in the world. The Government could pay the expenses of operating the

railroad every year by mining its own coal for the use of the Pacific Fleet.

The United States buys its coal at Newport News and transports it all the way around South America. It transports that coal in foreign ships, flying foreign flags, and manned by foreign seamen. Every year the Government pays for the coal for its Pacific Fleet and the Revenue-Cutter Service on the Pacific coast a sum of money amounting to millions of dollars. If that money was ultilized to build this railroad it would pay a profit to the Government the first day it was in operation, and in 10 years would pay the Government back every dollar it will cost, and be one of the quickest agencies to help the people open up this wonderful country of Alaska.

We ought to do something for Alaska. It is a shame the way Congress treats Alaska. It is un-American, undemocratic, and unrepublican. It is a violation of the fundamental principles of American citizenship. I cry out against governing Alaska like a conquered province. I have done all I could for Alaska since I have been a Member of Congress, and I shall keep up the fight for the right until the people of Alaska get what they want, what they demand as American citizens—namely, Territorial government, better transportation facilities, and more safeguards to navigation.

Mr. Speaker, every newspaper in Alaska is in favor of this bill for Territorial government. The Democrats and the Republicans in the Alaska conventions recently held have unanimously passed resolutions in favor of it. There is not a man in Alaska to-day, in my judgment, who is a *bona fide* resident of Alaska and who intends to stay there and live there, who is not in favor of Territorial government. If anyone here doubts what I say, let him go to Alaska and find out for himself.

I am in favor of the pending bill. It is a meritorious measure. It will soon be a law. I want to congratulate the chairman and the Committee on the Territories for bringing in this bill. I have gone over it carefully. Take it all in all, it is a good bill. I am the first man in Congress that ever introduced a bill to give Alaska a Territorial government. I introduced the bill 10 years ago

at the request of a nonpartisan convention held by the people of Alaska. The presiding officer of that convention was Hon. A. P. Swineford, formerly governor of Alaska—a great man and a great Alaskan. He has gone to his reward, and he has gone into history as Alaska's "Grand Old Man." He was my friend and he helped me draw that first bill for Territorial government for Alaska. I am sorry that dear old Gov. Swineford is not living today to witness Alaska's triumph in Congress. It would gladden his heart more than anything that ever happened in his long and useful and illustrious career. I fought for that bill year after year. When Tom Cale came to Congress from Alaska I gave him the bill to introduce. When Judge Wickersham succeeded Cale he took up the bill, and I want to commend the Judge for all he has done in this struggle for home rule for Alaska.

Mr. Speaker, just a few words in conclusion. I repeat now what I said at the beginning—Alaska is the wonderland of the world. No words can adequately describe it. It is the poor man's and the rich man's and the sportsman's paradise. Alaska is the natural art gallery of the earth. The time, in my judgment, is at hand when this vast territory will be developed by American genius, American capital, and American enterprise, and take my word for it, there will be no more prosperous section in all our progressive country for American brawn and American brain. Alaska is the place for the new settler—for the hustler—for the man who wants to go ahead and get on. Alaska wants her rights; she wants home rule; she demands Territorial government. Alaska wants this; Alaska must have it—Alaska with her increasing population of patriotic people; Alaska with her invigorating climate; Alaska with her beautiful scenery, her magnificent distances, her snow-capped mountains, her majestic rivers, her fertile fields, her great industries of fish and fur and timber; Alaska with her great agricultural possibilities; Alaska with her immense wealth in gold and copper and silver and lead and tin and iron and coal—mineral wealth beyond the dreams of the most imaginative person in the world; Alaska with her brave and loyal and God-fearing American citizens; Alaska

with her churches and her schools, her splendid public institutions, her towns and her villages; Alaska under the wonders of the northern lights and in the shadow of the midnight sun; Alaska with her inspiring sights, her ancient glaciers, with her great harbors and innumerable lakes and countless cascades; Gentlemen, in the name of all these and more that I have not time now to enumerate, I ask in the name of justice why the Alaskans should not have the right of local self-government?

ON IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM SULZER AT COOPER UNION MASS MEETING, MONDAY NIGHT, MAY 6TH, 1912, TO PROTEST AGAINST THE PENDING IMMIGRATION BILLS IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Sulzer said:

I am opposed to the pending bills of Congress seeking to further restrict immigration. They all contain an educational test, and that is not a true test for desirable immigration.

I am now, and always have been, opposed to the educational test as a means of restricting immigration. In my opinion it is the poorest kind of a test, and will exclude desirable immigrants and admit undesirable immigrants to the United States. For years in Congress and out of Congress I have consistently opposed the educational test as a means of restricting immigration. I see no reason now to change my position.

Why an educational test? Illiteracy is not a crime; it is a misfortune. No immigrant should be punished by exclusion from our hospitable shores simply because he cannot read and write—especially when it is not the poor immigrant's fault. The fact that an immigrant cannot read and write is conclusive evidence to my mind that the immigrant is justified in leaving the country of his birth, because that country does not afford proper facilities for popular education.

Because a man cannot read and write is not his fault; it is the fault of the country in which he was born and reared. I have known many honest, hard-working, intelligent people who could not read and write. They came to America, became naturalized, and made good citizens. But I have never known of a crook coming from abroad who could not read and write.

Experience has demonstrated the fact that, with the educational facilities afforded in this land, thousands of illiterates, who, unhappily, were denied educational opportunities in their native lands, have learned to read and write here; and have shown an eagerness to acquire knowledge and fit themselves to become good citizens. It will also be noted that the exceptions provided in the bills are not broad enough to fully guard against the separation of families, though it is admitted that on humane and moral grounds separation of families should, as far as possible, be avoided and prevented. In my opinion, the desirable immigrant is the healthy law abiding worker, who comes to this country in good faith, and the undesirable immigrant is the clever educated schemer, who, immediately upon his arrival begins to find fault with our free institutions.

It has been our boast since the days of Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore and William Penn that this country was the refuge for the oppressed. On that sentiment, in large part, has been built up our national idea of free America, and because of that sentiment, we have attracted here the ambitious of every nation. The free and unrestricted immigration of the able-bodied has not injured our country in the past, but has helped it, and the maintenance of our shores as an asylum for the oppressed has made us an example for liberty everywhere and a continued menace to tyranny.

We cannot afford, after our emphatic success as exponents of liberty and freedom, to adopt at this time any restrictive measure based upon an avowal of our belief that lack of opportunity to read and write is a crime; nor can we afford to close our doors to fugitives from oppression and injustice still unfortunately existing.

An educational test to restrict immigration is anjust, inequitable and misdirected. Illiteracy is neither contagious nor incurable. Ability to read is no proof of either health or character. Many illiterate persons are vigorous, honest and of sound judgment in the affairs and the conduct of life. In all races the criminals come from the classes that can read and write, and not from the illiterate. A test founded on ability to read and write

will not keep out the criminals, and will furnish no safe guide in action to the officers charged with the execution of existing laws.

Why let in the crook and the undesirable man because, forsooth, he can read and write, and debar the honest desirable man because he cannot read and write? The question answers itself. The whole proposition is too absurd for serious discussion. I am against such unjust and ridiculous legislation. I shall do all I can to prevent such bills being enacted into laws.

SPECIAL ARTICLE CONCERNING MR. SULZER FROM THE "NATIONAL MAGAZINE" FOR MAY, 1912.

Constituents in city districts are seldom as close to their Congressmen as the people through the sparsely settled regions, where it is "Jim" or "Jack" or "Bill," and where a real friendship exists between the legislator and his following. One city Congressman who has a real, old-fashioned constituency is Hon. William Sulzer, of the Tenth District of New York. In his response to the greetings and complimentary speeches of his friends from all over the State and country at the recent dinner tendered to him in the Café Boulevard, New York City, he paid a splendid tribute to these constituents, whom he truly called "friends." His address, delivered in the earnest, straight-from-the-shoulder manner that has made William Sulzer beloved, will long be preserved by his constituents as the eloquent, the honest, the simple professions of a legislator whose record backs the spoken word with a tablet of pure gold. The speech is a gem and a classic.

"My friends," he said—"and I say 'my friends' advisedly, because here assembled are the best friends I have in all this world—I cannot tell you how much I appreciate all you have said about me, and how much I owe you for all you have done for me.

"I am grateful to you all—each and every one—and gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart.

"I feel how undeserving I am of much of the praise we have heard to-night. I dread praise more than blame. If I have done aught to justify this public recognition of your appreciation, the credit is yours—the praise is yours

—because all that I am politically I owe to you for the confidence you have reposed in me by electing me to Congress from this grand old tenth district for nine consecutive times.

"When it was proposed to give a dinner in my honor I said frankly I was opposed to it, as I wanted no thanks, or anything else, for doing my duty. My friends, however, went ahead regardless of my opposition, and I finally reluctantly consented to be present only on the conditions: first, that the dinner should be simple in character and reasonable in price so that all could attend; secondly, that it should be held in some place in the Congressional District in which I live, and among the people who have been so loyal to me for so many years; and thirdly, that it should be entirely nonpartisan. The conditions have been religiously fulfilled.

"The wisest of the ancients declared that a man was rich beyond the dreams of avarice if he could count, in fortune and in misfortune, his true friends on the fingers of one hand. You are all my friends, and I know whereof I speak, for I have tested your friendship in sunshine and in storm. Had I the fingers of five hundred men, I know I could not count on them the friends I have in this Congressional District. According, then, to the wisdom of the ancient philosopher I am, indeed, rich —if not exactly rich in dollars—yet in something better —something dollars cannot buy—true, real, sincere friends.

"To my friends—to those who really know me—my life is a simple one, an earnest one, and an open book. I believe the secret of all success is hard work, loyalty to friends, and fidelity to principle.

"The aim of life is happiness, and I have found that the best way to be happy is to make others happy. In a few words, to be unselfish, to be liberal in your views, to have few prejudices, and those only against wrongs to be remedied. To be kind, to be true, to be honest, to be just, to be considerate, to be tolerant, to be generous, to be forgiving, to be charitable, and to love your neighbor as yourself. To adhere tenaciously to fundamental principles for good and for righteousness. To help others,

to do what you can day in and day out for those we meet, to make the hearthside happier; and to do your part faithfully, regardless of reward, for the better and the grander and the greater civilization. To be, so far as possible, like Jefferson in your belief in the plain people; and to be, so far as is possible, like Lincoln in your love for liberty to one and all.

"Those who know me best know that I stand as firm as a rock in a tempestuous sea for certain fundamental principles—for political liberty and for religious freedom; for constitutional government and equality before the law; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; for unshackled opportunity as the beacon light of individual hope, and the best guarantee for the perpetuity of our free institutions; and for the rights of American citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad.

"I am not narrow-minded; I have no race or political or religious prejudice. I am broad in my views. I am an optimist. I believe in my fellow-man, in the good of society generally, and I know that the world is growing better. I stand for humanity and declare with Burns —a man is a man to me for all that.

"And so, my friends, in conclusion I thank you one and all again, and I assure you if I live, that in the future as in the past I shall, to the best of my ability, regardless of consequences, fight on for truth, fight on for justice, fight on for real progress, fight on for humanity —fight on for the cause that lacks assistance, against the wrongs that need resistance, for the future in the distance, and the good that I can do."

FROM THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

FOR APRIL, 1912.

SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THIS MAN SULZER.

By Mitchell Mannering.

When Hon. William Sulzer entered the public service a quarter of a century ago, he modestly announced a determination to do his whole duty. During his busy career he had undertaken everything with zest and spirit, and he declared his legislative duties revealed to him a life work. He was content to serve an apprenticeship when he took his oath in the House of Representatives, thoroughly mastering the details and routine of legislation before he became an active factor therein. There was no blare of trumpets; but able, energetic work in the drudgery and routine of committee rooms and on the floor of the House soon brought him prominence and distinction, just as it does to the boy working in the factory, who starts at the bottom, with dreams of doing things to earn and merit promotion.

If there ever was a bundle of enthusiasm, William Sulzer is that package of humanity. With his steel blue eyes and sandy hair, whose long forelock is always straying over his left temple; quick-motioned and vivacious, yet self-contained and sagacious, he is the picture of energy, enthusiasm and practical progressiveness. With a frank and enthusiastic manner he wins friend after friend on first meeting, and it is no wonder that William Sulzer, as the ranking Democratic Congressman in the party service from the North, won his laurels as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House

and made good. While he represents a normally Republican district in New York that has never been carried by any other Democrat since 1892, and has long been acknowledged as a party leader in his State, he has never been so much of a partisan as to forget that a large proportion of his constituents are Republicans. For nine terms he has served them well, and no member of Congress is more respected and beloved by his constituents. The tradition prevails in the tenth New York district, that "Old Bill Sulzer" can continue to serve in Congress as long as he likes, because he stands for a spirit of progress and civic righteousness that is free from all pretense and is exemplified in results. With commonsense, good nature, a square and sincere manner, free from all the subtle intrigue and trickeries of politics, he goes right ahead and never forgets that work counts in public life. Every day, and every hour of the day, finds him at work. No one ever accused William Sulzer of passing many idle moments; and, while modest as to his achievements, he has a record of which any veteran in or out of Congress may well be proud.

He was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1863, coming of good old Scotch-Irish and German ancestry. His father, who had been a student at Heidelberg, came to America during the political disturbances of 1848. From his parents, William Sulzer has inherited that love of freedom and constitutional government that has been reflected in his public career. Graduating from a grammar school in 1877, he attended lectures at the Columbia College Law School, and then launched into his profession as if he intended to find that rung of the ladder which Daniel Webster located at the top.

William Sulzer was intended for the Presbyterian ministry, but his admiration for the law claimed him for the latter profession, and his hard-fought battles in the courts and on public questions soon brought him recognition as an eloquent public speaker. He was one of the prominent campaign orators in the memorable Cleveland campaign in 1892. His public career was launched by his becoming a member of the New York Assembly, where he served five terms and attained prominence as speaker

and is a good deal of a philosopher, stoic in his endurance and epicurean in his geniality and hopefulness. No man has ever been a more implacable foe to monopoly, unjust taxation and organized greed; but he never indulges in political theatricals, and his every action shows him to be free and independent.

There is something old-fashioned about William Sulzer and his hearty affection for his friends. His steel-blue eyes look right at you, but they are not unfriendly, and you can see his soul looking for yours, with no thought of deception or purpose of guile. He has the stand of a soldier, and that brings to mind again the Spanish-American War, when he organized a regiment of volunteers, but for political reasons it was not called into active service. Two of his younger brothers, however, a captain and a lieutenant, died in the Philippines in the service of their country.

The political record of the Tenth District in New York reveals William Sulzer as one candidate who has never been defeated. It must be gratifying to run thousands of votes ahead of a party ticket, even in the years when the party vote was on the slump. When his district went fifteen thousand for McKinley, Sulzer carried it by five thousand, and when Alton B. Parker lost the district by over ten thousand, Sulzer carried it by over seven thousand. There is something in his busy activity that appeals to his constituents, because he has given them service.

He is a prominent member of the Masonic body, of the Arctic Brotherhood and of nearly every other known organization in his district, for Sulzer is a "joiner."

His record of five years of public service at Albany includes thirty-two distinct laws, of which he was the author and which he wrote and carried through the New York legislature, every one of which entitled him to a mark of credit. His record in the House of Representatives since 1894 includes twenty-five distinct bills of which he was the author. His supreme triumph was when, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with characteristic vigor and level head, he secured in a marvelously short time the abrogation of the Russian

treaty of 1832. It was handled in such a manner as not to occasion international complications, because of the simple and direct way in which his resolution was worded. Russia was asked to accede to what all other countries in the world have conceded according to the Act of 1868, giving every naturalized citizen of the United States the privileges of an American citizen, and to obliterate the old custom of 1832 which had it that, "once a Russian subject, always a Russian subject." Upon this occasion Sulzer rose above all inclination to play politics and earnestly enlisted in an effort to assist the State Department in bringing about a new treaty in harmony with the spirit of the times.

The Congressional *Record* at times fairly sizzles with Sulzer paragraphs. Some of his short speeches are gems of oratory. There is on record an eloquent speech in defense of colored soldiers, and Sulzer's voice was raised on every occasion in the cause of the defenseless.

Mr. Sulzer's work is constructive—not destructive. *He* is a builder—not a destroyer. The reorganization of the consular service was one of the first matters he took up as head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In line with this he introduced a bill for the improvement of the foreign service along the lines of the Lowden Bill. In colloquy and debate on the floor he is ever ready to promote and defend the many measures which have made his Congressional records prolific during the past sixteen years. His outbursts of sentiment have the right ring. When he arose in the House and insisted that there was nothing in the gift of the nation too great for the men who saved the Republic; that there was due them a debt of gratitude that could never be paid and that could not be measured in dollars and cents, he made a plea for old soldiers not soon to be forgotten. He insisted that a nation's gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart, and that patriotism is indeed the noblest sentiment that animates the soul of man. He is the idol of the old soldiers.

With all the enthusiasm characteristic of his previous work Congressman Sulzer has taken up the restoration of the American merchant marine. He calls attention

to the lamentable fact that the registered tonnage of the ocean-carried trade of the United States in 1910, with a population of ninety millions, was four hundred thousand tons less than it was in 1810—a century ago. Then the American flag was found in the deep-sea trade of the world. His belief is that this can be restored by preferential duties, avoiding the prejudice against ship subsidies or free ships. He has introduced a bill providing for preferential duties, which was a policy successfully in operation in this country up to 1828, when it is believed foreign interests interfered and occasioned the suspension of this Act, which had done much to build up the prestige of the young Republic on the high seas. He feels that the objection brought forward that this would interfere with some of our present commercial treaties is not tenable. His bill is short and right to the point, and in no way attempts or admits a makeshift. It states the proposition in Sulzer's characterisic way—in plain, terse English. He earnestly believes that with preferential duties, the pre-eminence of American merchant marine would soon be re-established. He insists that the magical effect of preferential duties existing between 1792 and 1828 occasioned the greatest advancement ever made in the development of American merchant marine.

The bill for the improvement of the Foreign Service introduced by Mr. Sulzer in the House of Representatives in February last is designed to carry on the work outlined in former Executive Orders. The Sulzer Bill is in harmony with the recommendations of the President and of the Secretary of State, also embodying the principles for which the commercial organizations of the country have been contending for years. It has enlisted the earnest support of the State Department itself; and this is a most favorable indication, indeed, when we find a measure of international importance meeting with general support, irrespective of party lines, under the enthusiastic leadership of William Sulzer, the able, the eloquent, and the patriotic Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

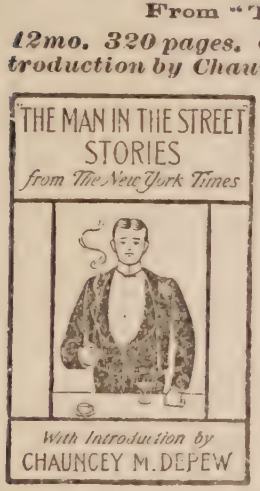
To review the work of Congressman Sulzer one must

come in contact with an immense volume of public documents extending over twenty-five years, for his career has been one of ceaseless activity. His work is keyed to the pace of modern and progressive statesmanship; and, while he may not always win an agreement on his ideas and policies, none can gainsay the earnest convictions of William Sulzer. He has given for years to his constituents of the Tenth District, to the people of the State of New York, and to his country the best that he can do every day of the week, every week of the month and every month of the twenty-odd years which he has rounded out with a public career which has brought to him a grateful appreciation from the district, the State and the Nation, which he has so ably served with uncompromising, high-minded patriotic convictions.

"MAN IN THE STREET" STORIES.

From "The New York Times."

12mo. 320 pages. Cloth Bound, $1 00. With an introduction by Chauncey M. Depew, who says of them:



"This collection of stories is my refresher every Sunday after the worry and work of the week. I know of no effort which has been so successful in collecting real anecdotes portraying the humorous side of life as this volume."

It is prepared with a complete index which increases its value very much.

Read what reviewers all over the country say of the book:

"It is a great collection, and the reading of it is a treat."—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE.

"The kind of a book we call a 'capital thing.' Its humor is of the best flavor."—MINNEAPOLIS TIMES.

"Is well worth the consideration of all."—PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

"Warranted to amuse."—BOSTON JOURNAL.

"Probably no book of its kind excells this one."—DETROIT FREE PRESS.

"The anecdotes are exceptionally entertaining, full of humor, wit and wisdom, and may be read with genuine pleasure."—ST. LOUIS REPUBLIC.

"Full of good things."—PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER.

"Senator Depew says a true thing in commending the character and quality of the book."—CLEVELAND LEADER.

"We cannot deny its attainment of success."—BALTIMORE SUN.

"A collection of the utmost use for those who wish to use bright jest and modern anecdote."—CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.

"Every after-dinner speaker should be thankful for the publication in book form of the 'Man in the Street Stories.'"—SPRINGFIELD SUNDAY REPUBLICAN.

"They will make the reader laugh."—BUFFALO EXPRESS.

"This work is useful in more ways than one."—RICHMOND DISPATCH.

"Will be useful to all who are in quest of stories to illustrate points in dinner table exploits."—BROOKLYN EAGLE.

"The story teller need never run short as long as he has this volume to consult."—PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

"Constitute a very mine of material for both the political campaign and the social circle. Always interesting."—PITTSBURG INDEX-APPEAL.

"The average merit of these stories is so high, that the prize winning stories are little if any, better than the others."—CHICAGO INTER-OCEAN.

"Indispensable to a properly selected library."—ST. PAUL GLOBE.

Sent by mail, post-paid, to any address upon receipt of price, ***One Dollar.*** Address all orders to

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

P. O. Box 767. 57 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK.

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

A Gentleman from Mississippi

Received the hearty approval of PRESIDENT TAFT.

A novel founded upon the play of the same name.

Bound in cloth, stamped in colors which makes one of the most attractive books of the year.

Price, 50 cents, net; postage 10 cents additional.

Full of AMERICAN Interest, AMERICAN Ideas, AMERICAN Politics and AMERICAN Honesty.

Senator Langdon is picked out by dishonest men in Washington to be used as their tool in the Senate. But the "tool" proves to be sharp at both ends and cuts the men who mean to cheat the people.

Honesty attracts honesty, and Langdon, the honest man, draws to his side as his secretary, "Bud" Haines, one who is as shrewd as the dishonest senators, who planned to use the planter Langdon.

One of Senator Langdon's daughters, in love with one of the conspirators, tries to blacken the name of her father and his secretary. But the plot fails, and Langdon, the good-natured man from Mississippi, proves more than a match for all the rascality in Washington.

Just how Langdon accomplishes his ends is one of the most interesting parts of the book—and even Langdon himself doesn't know how he is going to win out until the last moment—then he wins by simple honesty.

Needless to say there is the love story throughout the book of "Bud" Haines, the secretary, and the senator's daughter.

A Book of Real Character.

A Book of Interest.

A Book of Instruction.

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 60 CENTS.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

THE NEW MAYOR

A Novel

Founded upon GEORGE BROADHURST'S play

The Man of the Hour

Handsomely bound in cloth and stamped in colors, containing 250 pages with twelve illustrations from the play

Price 50 cents, net, postage 10 cents additional

It has been issued under the title of **THE NEW MAYOR**, in order not to conflict with a book published under the title, **The Man of the Hour.**

Thousands of people have not had the opportunity of seeing the play, and to them, as well as to those who have seen it, we desire to announce that we are the authorized publishers of the Story of George Broadhurst's Play in book form. There is already an enormous demand for this book, owing to the fact that the play is meeting with such a tremendous success, having been presented in New York for over six hundred consecutive performances, with four companies on tour throughout the United States.

The play has received the highest praise and commendation from critics and the press, a few of which we give herewith:

"THE FINEST PLAY I EVER SAW."—Ex-President Roosevelt.

"The best in years."—*N. Y. Telegram.*
"A triumph."—*N. Y. American.*
"A sensation."—*N. Y. Herald.*
"A straight hit."—*N. Y. World.*
"Means something."—*N. Y. Tribune.*
"A perfect success."—*N. Y. Sun.*
"Best play yet."—*N. Y. Commercial.*
"An apt appeal."—*N. Y. Globe.*
"A play worth while."—*N. Y. News.*
"An object lesson."—*N. Y. Post.*

This novel is a strong story of politics, love, and graft, and appeals powerfully to every true American.

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 60 CENTS.

Be sure to get the book founded on the play.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

Do You Like Mental Surprises?

Things that make your eyes open wider, and cause you to assume a changed position, so that you can continue your reading without tiring? Sustained excitement and strange scenes that compel you to read on page after page with unflagging interest? Something that lifts you out of your world of care and business, and transports you to another land, clime, and scenes? Yes? Then don't fail to read

THE

MYSTERY OF THE RAVENSPURS

By FRED M. WHITE

the best book written by this popular author, since his "Crimson Blind" and "Corner House," which met with such tremendous success.

It is a romantic tale of adventure, mystery and amateur detective work, with scenes laid in England, India, and the distant and comparatively unknown Thibet. A band of mystics from the latter country are the prime movers in the various conspiracies, and their new, unique, weird, strange methods form one of the features of the story.

The book contains 320 pages, with four full-page illustrations and wrapper design in colors by De Takacs, handsomely bound in cloth.

PRICE, $1.25, net. BY MAIL, POSTPAID, $1.35.

We Heartily Recommend This Book.

FOR SALE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

Common Sense In Chess.

By EMANUEL LASKER

If you desire to become proficient in the game of chess, and to learn how to beat your opponent, you should not fail to get this comprehensive and instructive book written by the master mind of the chess world. The information contained therein is invaluable to chess players and is worth many times the price of the book. It deals with all the points of a game of chess by the aid of general principles, deduced from considerations concerning the nature of chess as a fight between two brains, and their conception is based on simple facts. It gives openings and methods of play, **all fully illustrated.** The book contains 140 pages, printed on best quality book paper, substantially bound in cloth with lithograph linings.

Price, Sent by Mail, Postpaid, 75 Cents

Ask your bookdealer for it, or send your order direct to us

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

A Monk of Cruta

By E. PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM,

Author of "The Peer and the Woman," Etc.

o o o

Marvelously Mysterious! Alarmingly Adventurous!

o o o

This is one of the stories that made the author famous. It is full of mystery, love, and adventure, and from the first chapter which is laid in a familiar and well-known monastery to the last, the reader follows the characters with increasing interest. It is the kind of a book to take away over the holidays, or read in the evenings at home, as it has that "grip" which makes it a relaxation to read. It banishes care and trouble, and lifts you out of yourself by its strongly woven plot.

The book contains 340 pages, printed on antique wove book paper, and is bound in cloth with artistic cover in colors.

o o o

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 75 CENTS.

o o o

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

The Peer and the Woman

By E. PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM

Author of "A Monk of Cruta," "The Missioner," etc.

One of the Most Popular Authors of the present day.

A story of romance, mystery, and adventure, in which, as in many mystery stories, there is the adventuress, with whom, for some reason, the peer, notwithstanding his breeding and social position, becomes entangled, until he is mysteriously put out of the way. From this point on complication and adventure succeed each other in rapid succession, holding the reader in rapt fascination until the end of the story is reached, where the plots of love and mysterious disappearances are suprisingly unfolded.

This story has been written in Mr. Oppenheim's most entertaining and interesting style, and will be appreciated by all lovers of the class of fiction which has made him famous.

A Wonderful Story of Mystery.

Bound in cloth, handsomely stamped in colors.

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 75 CENTS.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

The Kreutzer Sonata

AND OTHER STORIES

By COUNT LEO TOLSTOY

Translated from the Russian.

o o o

Bound in Cloth, Handsomely Stamped in Colors

o o o

Tolstoy—the great mind—the master of literature—is among those immortals who are placed on the pedestal of everlasting fame because of his power and his insight into human nature—into human character. He is capable of understanding and writing in a way, which, for a writer of less experience and intellect, would be impossible. He is the maker of a new era in literature—from his mind issue the thoughts of many, expressed in the voice of a genius.

THE KREUTZER SONATA is one of his books which has a world-wide reputation, is, in fact, the one that made him famous, and one which everyone of mature years should read.

The closing words of the book show the nature of the moral to be deduced: "Yes, that is what I have done, that is my experience. We must understand the real meaning of the words of the Gospel—Matthew V, 28—'that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery;' and these words relate to the wife, to the sister, and not only to the wife of another, but especially to one's own wife."

The moral lesson to be learned is plainly visible and its solution is the solution of the "higher mind."

o o o

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 75 CENTS.

o o o

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

THE DEVIL

A novel founded upon the successful and much discussed play of the same name as produced by Henry W. Savage.

By FERENC MOLNAR

Handsomely bound in cloth with pasted side.
Eight illustrations from the play.

Price 50 cents, net, postage 10 cents additional

The Devil is a **strong, moral** book, showing in a vivid, realistic manner the result of **evil thinking.** The Devil in this story is **evil thinking materialized.**

The scene centers in Vienna, and deals with the early love of a poor artist and a poorer maiden. As the years go by the artist achieves distinction, and the maiden becomes the wife of a millionaire merchant—with very little romance in his composition, but thoroughly devoted to his young and beautiful bride.

Seven years later the artist (who has been received as a valued friend of the family) is commissioned to paint the wife's portrait—and the old love reasserts itself. For a while the issue is problematical; but stability of character conquers, and the ending is quite as the heart would wish.

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 60 CENTS.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

The House by the River

By FLORENCE WARDEN

Handsomely bound in cloth and stamped in colors, 310 pages, printed on excellent book paper

Price 50 cents, postage 15 cents additional

A wonderful story of mystery and romance, one in which every character in the book is guilty, to the reader's mind, until the end is reached.

WHAT THE REVIEWERS SAY OF IT

"Florence Warden is the Anna Katharine Green of England. She apparently has the same marvelous capacity as Mrs. Rohlfs for concocting the most complicated plots and most mystifying mysteries, and serving them up hot to her readers."—*N. Y. Globe.*

"The interest of the story is deep and intense, and many guesses might be made of the outcome, as one reads along, without hitting on the right one."—*Salt Lake Tribune.*

"The author has a knack of intricate plot-work which will keep an intelligent reader at *her* books, when he would become tired over far better novels not so strongly peppered. For even the "wisest men" now and then relish not only a little nonsense, but as well do they enjoy a thrilling story of mystery. And this is one —a dark, deep, awesome, compelling if not convincing tale."—*Sacramento Bee.*

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 65 CENTS.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

The Seven Who Were Hanged

By LEONID ANDREYEV.

Translated From the Russian by HERMAN BERNSTEIN.

Handsomely bound in cloth with gold stamping and colored cover inlay. Frontispiece of the author. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

WHAT THE CRITICS SAY OF IT.

"Andreyev is greater than Poe—greater for his truth, if not for his art. Such an exploration of the dark depths and far perspectives of the soul in the grip of terror; such analysis of the obscure sudden transformations of that terror into an ecstasy indistinguishable from joy; such swift meltings of majesty of spirit into most abject surrender to the mere physical revulsion from death, I cannot remember in the range of all my reading . . . . Andreyev makes you realize in a poignant fashion a new, deeper meaning of brotherhood."—*St. Louis Mirror.*

"'The Seven Who Were Hanged' is not a mere morbid probing into the abnormal and horrible. It is a grim and terrible picture and it is painted with tremendous art—the art of a Dore."—*Chicago Inter-Ocean.*

"It is a wonderful picture of human character and human beauty and human life. Indeed, it has, however, like all real art, a social message. For anything that makes us more sensitive to human beauty, and therefore more widely sympathetic, has a social bearing. It is only by the extension of love that society can be improved, and Andreyev's book, like all things of beauty, is calculated to increase the total of human love in the world . . . . A beautiful and a terrible book, the result of a passion for humanity and of simple, strong art—a swift, passionate picture of human life and character; through it we realize more keenly the beauty of mankind and at the same time the tragedy of life."—*The Bookman.*

"The story has a poignancy, a power that grips and holds and leaves one with an ineffaceable impression of having looked upon human souls in their supremest moments. It is like a superb etching in which every stroke tells. 'The Seven Who Were Hanged' belongs in the class of masterly stories."—*Brooklyn Daily Times.*

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

OGILVIE'S POPULAR COPYRIGHT LINE

'Way Down East

A novel founded upon the play of the same name by JOSEPH R. GRISMER.

One of the sweetest stories of New England life ever written; one full of the love and tenderness made possible by honest Christian living among pure, whole-hearted and broad-minded country folks.

This book is founded upon the play, which, with ever increasing popularity, has been presented so often to the American Public.

Over 260,000 copies of the book have been sold. Have you read it? If not, why not get it now?

A story of pure love.

A story with a lesson.

Bound in elegant cloth, handsomely stamped in colors, and containing eight illustrations from the play.

SENT BY MAIL, POSTAGE PAID, FOR 75 CENTS.

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

TWO GREAT DETECTIVE STORIES

The Adventures of
ARSENE LUPIN
GENTLEMAN BURGLAR,

...AND...

ARSENE LUPIN
versus
HERLOCK SHOLMES.
By MAURICE LEBLANC.

Not since the great success and wide popularity of "Sherlock Holmes," has there appeared in fiction a character so interesting, so vivacious, full of gaiety, of irony, and of the unexpected as **ARSENE LUPIN.** Maurice Leblanc can be compared only to A. Conan Doyle. They have the same power of recital, the same capacity in intrigue, the same science of mystery, the same rigorous chain of facts, the same sobriety of means.

With Sherlock Holmes one is each time facing a new robbery and a new crime. With **ARSENE LUPIN** we know in advance he is the guilty one. We know, that when we shall have unravelled the tangled threads of the story, we shall find ourselves facing the famous **Gentleman Burglar.** But with the aid of processes which the most adept are not able to fathom, the author holds your attention to the very end of each adventure, and the dramatic termination is always the unexpected.

ARSENE LUPIN does not steal, he simply amuses himself by stealing. He chooses, at need he restores. He is noble, charming, chivalrous, delicate. Thief and burglar, robber and confidence man, anything you could wish, but so sympathetic—the bandit! If you appreciate skill, ability, resourcefulness, and a battle between master-minds, do not fail to read these books, which we have just published in two volumes under the titles as given above. 12mo, cloth bound, 300 pages, new, large type.

PRICE, 75 CENTS PER COPY, POSTPAID.

You can buy these at any bookstore or direct from us.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY
57 Rose Street, New York

The Forged Coupon;

AND OTHER STORIES.

By COUNT LEO TOLSTOI,

Author of "RESURRECTION," "KREUTZER SONATA," Etc.

o o o

The stories in this volume are the heretofore unpublished works of Tolstoi which were not given to the world until after his death.

o o o

In this volume the reader finds Tolstoi at his best, dealing with character, which he so well knew, in a field of which he was a master. The story follows the successive evil and wrong resulting from the forging of a note by a university student in need of money. Murder, robbery and numerous crimes succeed each other as a result of this first wrong act, until the wave of crime is checked by a poor, ignorant woman and a lame tailor, who follow the real teaching of Christ. The leaven of good once started, grows, until through successive stages, the forger of the note is finally redeemed from a wild and riotous life.

The book contains also "AFTER THE BALL," a story of love and military life; "KORNEY VASILYEV," a story of peasant life; "TOLSTOI'S VITAL HUMANITARIAN IDEAS," giving the very essence of the fountain spring and incentive of all the literary work ever written by this wonderful man—a peep, as it were, at the power-works of his thinking machine; and "AN INTERVIEW WITH TOLSTOI," by the translator of his stories, giving a glimpse of his home life.

o o o

A literary work every one of mature age should read. Printed on best quality of book paper, and handsomely bound in cloth stamped in gold and white. Four illustrations from photographs. 12mo. Cloth, 212 pages. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

o o o

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

57 Rose Street, New York.

THE

Fortunes of Betty

By CECIL SPOONER

Founded Upon Her Successful Play of the Same Title

A successful play now-a-days generally means a book to follow, if it has not already preceded it, as is so often the case. This time the work has been very well done by the playwright herself, who is probably better qualified than any other person to construct her story in conformity with her own conception of the characters represented.

Love, romance, pathos, sympathy, martial spirit, reverence, action—all have their place and a share in the success-making, and attention-holding qualities of Miss Spooner's first novel. It is a story of a small-town girl, who strives to keep the honor of the family name intact, and who by her ability, ready wit, and bravery, succeeds in overcoming the machinations of rich and powerful enemies. The admiration and reverence due the Stars and Stripes, and those who fought under them, is graphically depicted; and Betty's difficulties in winning the love of the man upon whom her affections are bestowed are admirably set forth.

Pure in thought, tender in motive, and true to the higher ideals of life and love, **The Fortunes of Betty** appeals to those who appreciate a good story well told.

The book contains 256 pages, printed on best quality of antique wove book paper, with eight half-tone illustrations from the play, neatly bound in cloth with illustrated wrapper in colors. It would make a handsome gift.

Price, 50 Cents. By Mail, Postpaid, 60 Cents

Ask Your Bookseller For It, or Order Direct From Us

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY

57 Rose Street, New York

A $10.00 BOOK FOR $2.50!

MOORE'S
UNIVERSAL ASSISTANT
AND
COMPLETE MECHANIC.

CONTAINING

Over One Million Industrial Facts.

CALCULATIONS, PROCESSES, TRADE SECRERS, RULES, LEGAL ITEMS, BUSINESS FORMS, etc., in every Occupation, from the Household to the Manufactory.

A work of unequaled utility to every Mechanic, Farmer, Merchant, Business Man, Professional Gentlemen, and Householder, as it embraces the main points in over 200 Trades and Occupations. It contains 1016 pages and over 500 illustrations.

The following synopsis gives some idea of the value and scope of the work. The contents are as follows:

Part 1.—Bread, Cracker, Pastry and Cake Baking, Domestic Cooking, etc. Part 2.—For Farmers, Horse Shoers, Stock Owners, Bee Keepers, etc. Part 3.—For Lumbermen, Carpenters, Builders, Contractors, Mill Owners, Shipbuilders, Ship Owners, Freighters, Navigators, Quarrymen Merchants and Business men generally. Part 4.—Natural, Mechanical and Scientific Facts. Part 5.—For Dyers, Clothiers, Bleachers, Hatters, Furriers and Manufacturers. Part 6.—Medical Department, for Druggists, Physicians, Dentists, Perfumers, Barbers, and general Family Use. Part 7.—For Grocers, Tobacconists, Confectioners, Saloon Keepers, Syrups, Cordials, Ice Creams Summer Drinks, Domestic Wines, Canned Goods, Soups, etc. Part 8.—For Tanners and Curriers, Boot, Shoe, Harness and Rubber Manufacturers, Marble and Ivory Workers, Bookbinders, Anglers, Trappers, etc. Part 9.—For Painters, Decorators, Cabinet Makers, Piano and Organ Manufacturers, Polishers, Carvers, Gilders, Picture Frame and Art Dealers, China Decorators, Potters, Glass Manufacturers, Glass Stainers and Gilders, Architects, Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Stucco Workers, Kalsominers, Slaters, Roofers, etc. Part 10.—For Watchmakers, Jewelers, Gold and Silversmiths, Gilders, Burnishers, Colorers, Enamelers, Lapidaries, Diamond Cutters, Engravers, Die Sinkers, Stencil Cutters, Refiners, Sweepmelters. Part 11.—For Engineers, Firemen, Engine Builders, Steam Fitters, Master Mechanics, Machinists, Blacksmiths Cutlers, Locksmiths, Saw, Spring, and Safe Manufacturers, Iron and Brass Founders, Mill Owners, Miners, etc. Part 12.—For Art Workers, Bronzing, Dipping, and Lacquering, Brass Finishers, Hardware Dealers, Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Tinman and Japanners, etc. Part 13.—For Printers and Publishers, Gas Companies and Consumers, Gunsmiths, Contractors, Quarrymen, Coal Dealers, Oil Manufacturers, Sugar Refiners, Paper Manufacturers, Cotton and Woolen Manufacturers, Cutlers, Needle and File Manufacturers, Metal Smelters, etc., etc. Part 14.—The Amenities of Life, Useful Advice. Part 15.—Tables, etc., Embracing Useful Calculations in every Business.

Price in Cloth Binding, $2.50; in Leather Binding, $3.50.

Sent by mail, postpaid, to any address on receipt of price. Agents wanted, to whom we offer big pay. Address all orders and applications for an agency to

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

Look Box 2767. 57 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK.

Reflections of a Bachelor.

12mo. 218 Pages.

To give you an idea of it we select the following:

A girl is never desperately in love with a man till she pins something he has given her to her nightgown.

If you see what you want, don't ask for it.

Next to teaching a girl to play whist, a man loves best to hold the cans while his wife puts up peaches.

Every girl wants a man to know she wears pretty stockings, but she doesn't want him to know she wants him to know it.

No man ever refused to let his wife wear bloomers. No wife who cared what her husband said ever wanted to.

The good live young.

There is no zest for the wicked.

A woman's idea of pleasure is to swing on the porch in a hammock in a white dress and watch her husband with his trousers rolled up setting out plants for her.

Probably babies talk so funny because they are guying their mothers.

Nothing exceeds like excess.

A fad is something that makes the man who has it happy and everybody else mad.

When you meet a man of a shy, retiring disposition you may be pretty sure he used to recite pieces at all the church entertainments when he was little.

Some men would rather lose a friend than a jack-pot.

The authorship of the captivating "Reflections of a Bachelor" remains incog., but we are confident that the author is unmarried—because he knows so little.

—The Trenton Times.

"Reflections of a Bachelor" is very clever work—because the author has been married these forty years.

—The Los Angeles Herald.

This book will be sent to any address by mail, postpaid, on receipt of 50 cents for paper bound, and $1 00 for the cloth bound edition.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

P O. Box 767. 57 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK

MYSTERIOUS MARTIN.

A psychological study of the development of character along unusual lines.

BY

TOD ROBBINS.

12mo, cloth, with frontispiece. Price, $1.00, postpaid.

o o o

WHAT THE CRITICS SAY OF IT.

"Is a book of horror, but is so well written and so cleverly conceived, that it should receive due credit. Its title character is a writer who excels Poe in describing horrors, and who becomes more insane with each succeeding year until he kills himself. He must see or experience every emotion he describes, and he has murdered and investigated murder so as to allow his genius full play in his writing and in the illustrating of his books. One of his books is so powerful that it causes an epidemic of murder in New York, and is suppressed by the government. The book has no lack of interest and its climax is brilliantly imaginative."—*St. Joseph News Press.*

"A gruesome story with a touch of haunting mystery about it that holds one interested to the end. Not a pleasant yarn to read before going to bed."—*Detroit Times.*

"A masterpiece of horror, yet, strange to say, not repellent."—*Salt Lake City Herald-Republican.*

"The horrible is exploited with such skill as will not suffer by comparison with that manifested in some of the short stories that Poe left to be regarded always as masterpieces of their kind . . . . so well done that one cannot condemn it because of the theme . . . . one is compelled to give praise for the treatment."—*Albany Evening Journal.*

"There is much of unusual merit, and more of prophecy in the present work of Mr. Robbins."—*Columbus Dispatch.*

"Gives the reader the shivers while admiring the ability of the author."—*Duluth Herald.*

"Nervous people, if they are to read it at all, better read it right after breakfast, and certainly not in any one of the half-dozen hours previous to going to bed."—*Utica Daily Press.*

o o o

You can buy this at any bookstore or direct from us.
Price, $1.00, postpaid.

J. S. OGILVIE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

57 Rose Street, New York.